

Civilization is the amputation  
of everything that ever happened to us,  
An experiment created by aliens unable to have sex,  
Civilization is the molestation  
of everything we could be,

A giant repression melting into suppression  
So that YOU never say what YOU mean,  
Civilization is breathing down our necks  
Splitting us apart,

We are wreckage with beating hearts,  
Civilization is a can of hairspray  
Spraying for the senseless vain  
Into a hairnet . . .

Only ever meant to be waves,  
Civilization, genocide beliefs,  
Moralistic

See-through lace blouses  
Missiles, ballistic

Lackadaisical

Melancholy red lipstick

When one feels nauseous,

But doesn't feel sick,

Civilization knew who you were  
before you were even born

Forgave You when you thought You needed forgiving

And You never once surprised THIS civilization

And You never once felt THAT sensation.

- Timothy Speed Levitch, *The Cruise*

*The Cruise*

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# GREEN ANARCHY

*an anti-civilization journal of theory and action*

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FREE TO PRISONERS



**...IS**

**CIVILI-**

**ZATION**

**DRIVING**

**YOU**

**MAD?**





# Youth Liberation: Burn the Schools and Destroy the Media!

## This is Personal And Political

In order for civilized villagers in South-east Asia to tame a wild elephant and use it for agricultural labor, they must first break its spirit. This is accomplished by luring an adolescent animal away from others of its species, and then chaining each of its legs securely to the ground. The elephant cannot move, cannot seek assistance from family and friends, cannot independently take care of itself. The poor creature is totally dependent, imprisoned and surrounded by strange thin-haired apes who laugh or applaud at its pain and misery. After this goes on for days, the elephant's wild spirit is broken, and it becomes a docile plough animal.

School serves a similar purpose for civilizing and breaking the spirits of young humans. At the tender age of 4 to 6 a child has just begun to articulate clearly in complicated symbolic language, as well as starting to master complex physical and mechanical tasks. It is at this point, that vulnerable, fragile young humans are forcibly taken away from their family home, human neighborhood and eco-system. With the threat of police violence and imprisonment or at the least kidnapping of their child, waved at parents to ensure compliance, countless children are loaded on mass transport carriers and carted away. For the next 13 years they spend as many as eight hours a day with hundreds of other displaced youth in massive, sterile, unfriendly institutional buildings. At these institutions they are trained, under constant threat of various cruel and unusual psychological punishments, to sit still, follow orders unquestioningly, and most importantly to fear what might happen if they ever stray outdoors, beyond the walls or yard of their little prison and the watchful eyes of their overseers.

At the same time as young children are being schooled, another powerful force begins to fully eclipse and dominate their perception of the world. For many children in the first world, the flickering of the cathode ray behind TV sets and computer monitors, and the recorded sound vibrations of radio, record, tape and CDs, may become essential to their perception at the earliest developmental stage possible — when their hearing and vision become clear and senses distinct. In other cases, the child's parents attempt to defer this experience until their kids reach the age of 3 or 5 or even 14 — but beyond that point it becomes virtually impossible to save any human from the brainwashing experience of the commercial corporate media.

Sometimes these sounds and images offer children a rebellious voice, which seems to counter and subvert their schooling by extolling the pursuit of maximum "cool" social status via product consumption. At other times the media simply parrots the same messages of obedience, fear and conformity first learned in the educational system. At all times TV, radio, stereos, computers and other electronic media are defining and delimiting a young human's existence, from the level of the physiological to that of the mythical.

## FIGHT the REAL Enemy

Certain contributors to this publication have suggested that those who wish to physically fight civilization should prioritize attacks on biotechnology and nanotechnology. These developments, which are not currently accepted as essential and inevitable by a majority of civilized people, make imminent the possibility of total ecological collapse at a basic molecular and genetic level — as well as the more frightening possibility of total human control over the basic building blocks of life, a "post-ecology world" as the proponents of nanotech admit they are working towards. All these reasons put biotech and nanotech high on the list of important targets for calculated outbursts of rage against the machine.

Yet at the same time, in giving material manifestation to one's love of life and hatred of the gears of death, informed people should not forget that a few main institutions are primarily responsible for molding human beings into citizens, consumers and capitalists — namely: mass corporate media, the nuclear family, and the compulsory education system. Finding ways to attack and transcend these evil influences is essential to moving beyond civilization. Of the three, only the mass media and the schools have clearly identifiable centralized offices of operation. And just as the people most essentially responsible for killing the earth have names and addresses, so the buildings and equipment which are most important for indoctrinating youth and maintaining control of the minds of adults are quite obvious in any town or city — they are usually clearly listed in telephone books, and in many cases (unlike prisons, government centers, or resource extraction corporation offices) they have little security to speak of.

Summer '03



I spent 13 years being educated in the public schools, I have watched loved ones waste decades working at them, and I have even spent several years as a wage slave in the school system myself. Based on this experience, I have decided that from an anarchist point of view, and especially a green anarchist viewpoint, there is almost nothing redeeming about the experience of schooling and the public school system. Any helpful ideas and emotional support that youth get from a stray iconoclastic teacher, tutor, or counselor are completely outweighed by the nature of the educational system as a whole: a mass bureaucratic machine of increasingly militaristic and inherently prison-like institutions, whose admitted purpose is to mold humans from their natural wild state into the roles of good citizens and docile workers. For anyone who claims to oppose government, authoritarianism, or hierarchy (let alone civilization) to apologize for or support the public school system is sheer hypocrisy and back-stepping. Though my personal economic survival is still partially dependent on wage slavery in the public schools, I would be overjoyed to see every school burned to the ground.

If you doubt that the youth of today are turned into docile consumer drones by the double whammy of school and the media, I suggest that you spend some time around masses of young people. Listen to the way small children parrot the lines of movies and TV shows, and structure their entire identities and daily routines around them. Observe the vacuous, worn out, dragged down lack of curiosity in many high school students — that is, beyond interest in product consumption, and media icon worship.

## making some space to think in

Most American public schools are severely understaffed and underfunded. They can ill afford to hire increased security or to rebuild following serious

sabotage or attacks. If a campaign of such actions took place on a national level, where would this leave the youth of America? Well, not locked up in schools for starters. And, in a world where consumption and production reign divine, idle hands *can* be the tools of the devil.

Of course in such a scenario a lot of youth autonomy would be recouped by real prisons and private schools — and certainly by television. (Unless of course, the equipment and buildings needed to broadcast and receive this pacifying influence were also under constant attack, at both a local and international level, by diverse small autonomous groups.) The same strategy could also be used against the Internet, or any other electronic corporate media tools of social control.

If first world youth can't go to school, watch television or surf the web on a regular basis, and their parents can't reliably entertain, supervise and pacify them with these innovations, what the hell happens then? I don't know — but it sounds like a scenario that's a lot more encouraging of spontaneous revolt than our current situation.

## providing Alternatives

When and if thousands of bored kids start roaming the streets in hordes, it behooves anarchists to offer them access to radical ideas and tools for helping them deal with and understand their world. To this end, anarchists should start right now building up publicly accessible libraries, free school seminars and personal repertoires of socio-political theory, historical knowledge, and more important by far, real hands-on skills of all kinds: from creating art and music to building and fixing your own cars, bombs and bicycles; from permaculture to wild food gathering and hunting; from marksmanship to conflict resolution. I mean, don't we want to learn how to really live and share that with the next generation?

## we Are ALL in Prison

I don't want to denigrate the uniquely awful experience of those actually incarcerated in real penal institutions, but most individual humans on the planet right now live day to day existences which are basically not so different from prisoners. Even for most of us living in first world luxury, from cradle to grave, school to work, with the gaps filled in by TV, our minds and bodies are not free.

I wish I had never spent the hours of my youth locked up in school or numbing the pain of that experience with more hours spent staring at a television screen and a computer monitor. In some ways it's too late for me now, my spirit has been broken — but just like a tamed elephant that one day snaps and tramples its overseers, I too can lash out and fight back against the voices that bent my soul, and in doing so maybe I can help to save the next generation from having their spirits broken.

## Are you with Me?



## I don't wanna grow up

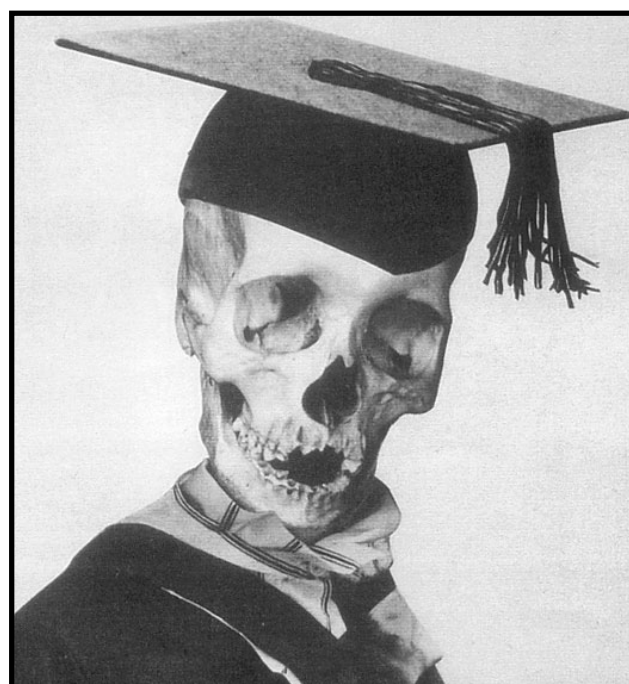
When I'm lyin' in my bed at night  
I don't wanna grow up  
Nothin' ever seems to turn out right  
I don't wanna grow up.  
How do you move in a world of fog  
That's always changing things  
Makes me wish that I could be a dog  
When I see the price that you pay  
I don't wanna grown up  
I don't ever wanna be that way  
I don't wanna grow up.

Seems like folks turn into things  
That they'd never want  
The only thing to live for  
Is today...  
I'm gonna put a hole in my T.V. set  
I don't wanna grow up  
Open up the medicine chest  
And I don't wanna grow up  
I don't wanna have to shout it out  
I don't want my hair to fall out  
I don't wanna be filled with doubt  
I don't wanna be a good boy scout  
I don't wanna have to learn to count  
I don't wanna have the biggest amount  
I don't wanna grow up.

Well when I see my parents fight  
I don't wanna grow up  
They all go out and drinking all night  
And I don't wanna grow up  
I'd rather stay here in my room  
Nothin' out there but sad and gloom  
I don't wanna live in a big tomb  
On Grand Street

When I see the 5 o'clock news  
I don't wanna grow up  
Comb their hair and shine their shoes  
I don't wanna grow up  
Stay around in my old hometown  
I don't wanna put no money down  
I don't wanna get me a big old loan  
Work them fingers to the bone  
I don't wanna float a broom  
Fall in love and get married then boom  
How the hell did it get here so soon  
I don't wanna grow up!

• Tom Waits and Kathleen Brennan



GREEN ANARCHY #13

Welcome to Green Anarchy #13  
Our "Drop-Out and Fight-Back" Summer Special

From **Still Life With Woodpecker**

A writer published an open letter to Bernard in a leading liberal periodical. He requested an interview. Utmost secrecy was sworn. It was on the level. The writer was a man of proven courage and integrity. The writer wanted amnesty for dissidents such as Bernard. He said that Bernard had suffered enough. He wrote that living underground was no less punishing than prison. “A person underground exists in a state of controlled schizophrenia,” he wrote. “Terror never slackens.” The journalist considered Bernard a victim of the Vietnam War. The fact that he had acted against the government’s interests instead of in them was immaterial, the writer said. The sociopolitical realities that drove Bernard to risk his life bombing induction centers were essentially the same as those that led other young men to risk theirs trading shots in rice paddies. As a fugitive, on the run, living in disguise and fear, Bernard was no less a casualty than those poor veterans who had left prime cuts from their physiques to decay in Da Nang and Hue.

Ha ha.  
That’s how Bernard’s infamous response began.  
“Ha ha.  
“Victim? The difference between a criminal and an outlaw is that while criminals frequently are victims, outlaws never are. Indeed, the first step toward becoming a true outlaw is the refusal to be victimized.

“All people who live subject to other people’s laws are victims. People who break laws out of greed, frustration, or vengeance are victims. People who overturn laws in order to replace them with their own laws are victims. (I am speaking here of revolutionaries.) We outlaws, however, live beyond the law. We don’t merely live beyond the letter of the law — many businessmen, most politicians, and all cops do that — we live beyond the spirit of the law. In a sense, then, we live beyond society. Have we a common goal, that goal is to turn the tables on the nature of society. When we succeed, we raise the exhilaration content of the universe. We even raise it a little bit when we fail.

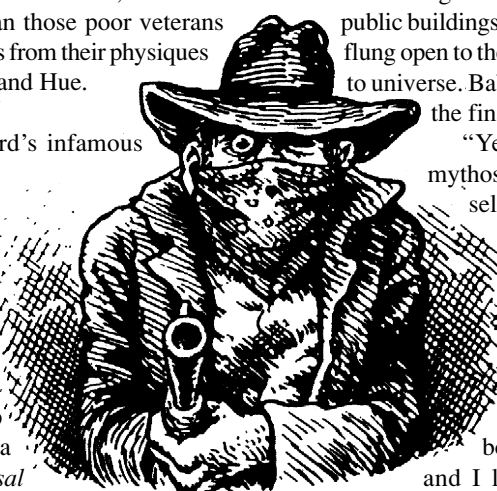
“Victim? I deplored the ugliness of the Vietnam War. But what I deplored, others have deplored before me. When war turns whole populations into sleepwalkers, outlaws don’t join forces with alarm clocks. Outlaws, like poets, rearrange the nightmare. It is elating work. The years of the war were the most glorious of my life. I wasn’t risking my skin to protest a war. I risked my skin for fun. For beauty!

“I love the magic of TNT. How eloquently it speaks! Its resounding rumble, its clap, its quack is scarcely less deep than the passionate moan of the Earth herself. A well-timed series of detonations is like a choir of quakes. For all of its fluent resonance, a bomb says only one word — ‘Surprise!’ — and then applauds itself. I love the hot hands of explosion. I love a breeze perfumed with the devil smell of powder (so close in its effect to the angel smell of sex). I love the way that architecture, under the impetus of dynamite, dissolves almost in slow motion, crumbling delicately, shedding bricks like feathers, corners melting, grim facades breaking into grins, supports shrugging and calling it a day, tons of totalitarian dreck washing away in the wake of a circular tsunami of air. I love that precious portion of a second when window glass becomes elastic and bulges out like bubble gum before popping. I love the public buildings made public at last, doors flung open to the citizens, to the creatures, to universe. Baby, come on it! And I love the final snuff of smoke.

“Yes, and I love the trite mythos of the outlaw. I love the self-conscious romanticism of the outlaw. I love the black wardrobe of the outlaw. I love the fey smile of the outlaw. I love the tequila of the outlaw and the beans of the outlaw... The outlaw boat sails against the flow, and I love it. All outlaws are photogenic, and I love that. ‘When freedom is outlawed, only outlaws will be free’ — that’s a graffiti seen in Anacortes, and I love that. There are outlaw maps that lead to outlaw treasures, and I love those maps especially. Unwilling to wait for mankind to improve, the outlaw lives as if that day were here, and I love that most of all.

“Victim? Your letter reminded the Woodpecker that he is a Woodpecker blessed. Your sympathies for my loneliness, tension, and disturbing fluctuations in identity have some basis in fact and are humbly appreciated. But do not be misled. I am the happiest man in America. In my bartender’s pockets I still carry, out of habit, wooden matches. As long as there are matches, there will be fuses. As long as there are fuses, no walls are safe. As long as every wall is threatened, the world can happen. Outlaws are can openers in the supermarket of life.

by Tom Robbins



**their box**  
  
I am inside a box  
six white walls  
and time ticks out  
click, click  
i “connect” with other boxes  
using smaller boxes  
00110010101001011  
click, click  
abc, nbc, cbs  
click, click  
  
this is their world  
imposed upon me  
i want to leave this box  
click, click  
we need to go outside the box  
click, click  
we need to destroy their box  
click, click  
outside the box,  
time stands still  
- (H2O)<sup>3</sup>



# Summer Offensive

The anti-war protests of the early spring were at times encouraging but remained, overall, limited and single-issue. “Anti-globalization” activism in recent years has mainly focused on the excesses of the totalizing Machine of Technology and capital and not on its basic nature, its unrelenting logic.

As the impact of 9/11/01 wanes, we will see whether we can connect the dots, renew and deepen our understanding and resolve. The road to the September World Trade Organization summit in Cancun passes through, for many, the late June WTO biotech conference in Sacramento. Along other paths and at a great variety of sites as well will the depth of our desire for liberation be manifest.

In all directions and at an accelerating rate, the degradation deepens and the toll mounts. Some seem committed to the dull, slow death of reform approaches, content to hope to slightly re-arrange the modern artifacts of estrangement. These concerned souls contest really nothing, threatened as they are by the intoxicating element, the realm of permanent surprises.

Protest/activism as usual is worse than a bad joke. It is surrender to the forces of death. It is the chorus of moderates who continue, for example, to lie about the courageous militants of Genoa (anti-G8, July 2001), calling those who caused tens of millions in damage the accomplices of cops and fascists. Such is the slander by Chomsky, the World Social Forum and all others horrified by a real assault on the system of destruction and domination.

Some 200 years ago in Egypt, Napoleon, soon to be emperor and tyrant, sought to inspire his army. “Soldiers,” he said, pointing to the pyramids, “forty centuries are watching you.” Napoleon sought to tip the scales of the world but only, of course, in terms of glory for a nation-state.

We may say that 100 centuries look down on us, because the crisis of today was born with domestication itself. Civilization has brought us to this point in time, containing in its awful trajectory the victims of all history. We must do our part to honor this realization.

In this homeless world the Machine plays its cards for all to see. Naked force everywhere, everything at stake for the resistance to that force. The challenge could not be issued with greater clarity.

## CONSEQUENCES

### (What Always Returns)

BY SUSAN GRIFFIN

from “*Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her*”

To have risked so much in our efforts to mold nature to our satisfaction and yet to have failed in achieving our goal would indeed be the final irony. Yet this, it seems, is our situation.

Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*

We say you cannot divert the river from the riverbed. We say that everything is moving, and we are a part of this motion. That the soil is moving. That the water is moving. We say that the earth draws water to her from the clouds. We say the rainfall parts on each side of the mountain, like the parting of our hair, and that the shape of the mountain tells where the water has passed. We say this water washes the soil from the hillsides, that the rivers carry sediment, that rain when it splashes carries small particles, that the soil itself flows with water in streams underground. We say that water is taken up into roots of plants, into stems, that it washes down hills into rivers, that these rivers flow to the sea, that from the sea, in the sunlight, this water rises to the sky, that this water is carried in clouds, and comes back as rain, comes back as fog, back as dew, as wetness in the air.

We say everything comes back. And you cannot divert the river from the riverbed. We say every act has its consequences. That this place has been shaped by the river, and that the shape of this place tells the river where to go. We say he should have known his action would have consequences. We say our judgement was that when she raised that rifle, looking through the sight at him, and fired, she was acting out of what had gone on before. We say every act comes back on itself. There are consequences. You cannot cut the trees from the mountainside without a flood. We say there is no way to see his dying as separate from her living, or what he had done to her, or what part of her he had used. We say if you change the course of this river you change the shape of the whole place. And we say that what she did then could not be separated from what she held sacred in herself, what she had felt when he did that to her, what we hold sacred to ourselves, what we feel we could not go on without, and we say if this river leaves this place, nothing will grow and the mountain will crumble away, and we say what he did to her could not be separated from the way that he looked at her, and what he felt was right to do to her, and what they do to us, we say, shapes how they see us. That once the trees are cut down, the water will wash the mountain away and the river be heavy with mud, and there will be a flood. And we say that what he did to her he did to all of us. And that one act cannot be separated from another. And had he seen more clearly, we say, he might have predicted his own death. How if the trees grew on that hillside there would be no flood. And you cannot divert this river. We say look how the water flows from this place and returns as rainfall, everything returns, we say, and one thing follows another, there are limits, we say, on what can be done and everything moves. We are all a part of this motion, we say, and the way of the river is sacred, and this grove of trees is sacred, and we ourselves, we tell you, are sacred.



# THE RISING OF THE BARBARIANS:

## A NON-PRIMITIVIST REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION

If we examine much of the current debate in anarchist circles surrounding civilization, technology, progress, green anarchy versus red anarchy and so on, we are left with the impression that criticism of civilization has only recently arisen within anarchist and revolutionary thinking. But this impression is false, and harmful for those of us with a revolutionary anti-civilization perspective.

In fact, a revolutionary questioning of civilization, of technology and of progress can be found throughout the history of modern revolutionary thinking. Charles Fourier posed his utopian socialist “Harmony” against the disharmony of “Civilization”. A number of the most radical of the Romantics (Blake, Byron and Shelly among others) were distinctly distrustful of industrialism and its utilitarian reason.

But we can bring things closer to home by looking at anarchists of the 19th century. Certainly Bakunin had no problem with industrial technology. Though he didn’t share Marx’s almost mystical faith in the capacity of industrial development to create the technical basis for global communism, he also did not see anything inherently dominating in the structure of industrial systems. In fact, his concept of workers taking over the organization of society through their own economic and industrial development was to eventually become the basis of anarcho-syndicalism (This development, however, is based on a misunderstanding, since Bakunin quite clearly stated that this organization was not something that could be developed on an ideological basis outside of the direct struggle of the workers, but rather that it was something that the workers would

develop for themselves in the course of their struggles. He therefore did not suggest any specific form for it). Nonetheless, Bakunin’s appeals to the “unleashing of the wicked passions” of the oppressed and exploited were seen by many of the more reasonable revolutionaries of the time as a barbaric call for the destruction of civilization. And Bakunin himself did call for “the annihilation of bourgeois civilization” along with “the destruction of all States” and the “free and spontaneous organization from below upward, by means of free associations”. But Bakunin’s French contemporary, Ernest Coeurderoy, was less conditional in his rejection of civilization. He says simply: “In civilization, I vegetate; I am neither happy, nor free; why then should I desire this homicidal order to be conserved? There is no longer anything to conserve of that which the earth suffers.” And he, along with Dejacque and other anarchist revolutionaries of that time, appeals to the barbaric spirit of destruction to bring an end to the civilization of domination.

Of course, the majority of anarchists at that time, as in our own, did not question civilization, technology or progress. Kropotkin’s vision of communized “Factories, Fields and Workshops” or Josiah Warren’s “True Civilization” inevitably have more appeal to those who are not prepared to face the unknown than the anarchist critiques of industrialism and civilization that often offer no clear vision of what will be after the revolutionary destruction of the civilization that they hate.

The early 20th century, and particularly the great massacre known as World War I, brought a major overturning of values. Faith in the bourgeois ideal of progress was thoroughly eroded and the questioning of civilization itself was a significant aspect of a number of radical movements including dadaism, Russian anarcho-futurism and early surrealism. If most of the better known anarchists (such as Malatesta, Emma Goldman, Mahkno and so on) continued to see the possibility of a liberated industrial civilization, other lesser known anarchists saw a different vision. Thus, around 1919, Bruno Filippi wrote:

*“I envy the savages. And I will cry to them in a loud voice: ‘Save yourselves, civilization is coming.’*

*“Of course: our dear civilization of which we are so proud. We have abandoned the free and happy life of the forest for this horrendous moral and material slavery. And we are maniacs, neurasthenics, suicides.*

*“Why should I care that civilization has given humanity wings to fly so that it can bomb cities, why should I care if I know every star in the sky or every river on earth?*

[...]

*“Today, the starry vault is a leaden veil that we vainly endeavor to pass through; today it is no longer unknown, it is distrusted.*

*“[...] I don’t give a damn for their progress; I want to live and enjoy.”*

Now, I want to be clear. I am not bringing all of this up in order to prove that the present-day anti-civilization current has a legitimate anarchist heritage. If its critique of the reality we face is accurate, why should we care whether it fits into some framework of anarchist orthodoxy? But Bakunin and Coeurderoy, Malatesta and Filippi, all of the anarchists of the past who lived in struggle against domination, as they understood it, were not trying to create any ideological orthodoxy. They were participating in the process of creating a revolutionary anarchist theory and practice that would be an ongoing process. This process has included critiques of civilization, critiques of progress and critiques of technology (and often in the past these critiques were not connected, so that, for example, Bakunin could call for “the annihilation of bourgeois civilization” and still embrace its technological outgrowth, industrialism, and Marcus Graham could call for the destruction of “the machine” in favor of an unmechanized civilization). We are living in different times. The words of Bakunin or Coeurderoy, of Malatesta or Renzo Novatore, or of any of the anarchist writers of the past, cannot be taken as a

program or a doctrine to be followed. Rather they form an arsenal to be looted. And among the weapons in that arsenal are barbaric battering rams that can be used against the walls of civilization, of the myth of progress, of the long-since disproven myth that technology can save us from our woes.

We are living in a world in which technology has certainly gone out of control. As catastrophe follows catastrophe, so-called “human” landscapes become increasingly controlled and mechanized, and human beings increasingly conformed to their roles as cogs in the social machine. Historically the thread that has gone through all that is best in the anarchist movement has not been a faith in civilization or technology

or progress, but rather the desire for every individual to be free to create her or his life as he or she sees fit in free association with others. In other words, the desire for the individual and collective reappropriation of life. This desire is still what motivates anarchist struggle. At this point it is clear to me that the technological system is an integral part of the network of domination. It has been developed to serve the interests of the rulers of this world. One of the primary purposes of large-scale technological systems is the maintenance and expansion of social control, and this requires a technological system that is largely self-maintaining, needing only minimal human intervention. Thus, a juggernaut is created. The recognition that progress had no inherent connection to human liberation was already recognized by many revolutionaries by the end of World War I. Certainly the history of the 20th century should have reinforced this understanding. We look out now on a physically, socially and psychically devastated world, the result of all that has been called progress. The exploited and dispossessed of this world can no longer seriously desire to get a piece of this putrefying pie, nor to take it over and “self-manage” it. The reappropriation of life must have a different meaning in the present world. In light of the social transformations of the past few decades, it seems to me that any serious revolutionary anarchist movement would have to call industrialism and civilization itself into question precisely because anything less may not provide us with the necessary tools for taking back our lives as our own.



But my anti-civilization perspective is not a primitivist perspective. While it may indeed be inspiring to look at the apparently anarchic and communistic aspects of some “primitive” cultures, I do not base my critique on a comparison between these cultures and the current reality, but rather on the way in which all of the various institutions that comprise civilization act together to take my life from me and turn it into a tool for social reproduction, and how they transform social life into a productive process serving only to maintain the rulers and their social order. Thus, it is essentially a revolutionary perspective, and this is why I will always make use of anything in that arsenal which is the history of revolutionary theory and practice that can enhance my struggle. “Primitive” people have often lived in anarchic and communistic ways, but they do not have a history of revolutionary struggle from which we can loot weapons for our current struggle. Having said this, however, I do recognize those anarcho-primitivists who continue to recognize the necessity of revolution and class struggle as my comrades and potential accomplices.

Revolutionary struggle against the civilization of control and profit that surrounds us will not be the reasonable attempt to take over the means of production. The dispossessed of this world seem to understand that this is no longer an option for liberation (if it ever was). If most are not clear about precisely who or what is the enemy, most do understand that they have nothing to say to those in power, because they no longer share a common language. We who have been dispossessed by this world now know that we can expect nothing from it. If we dream of another world, we cannot express that dream, because this world does not provide the words for it. And most likely, many no longer dream; they just feel rage at the continuing degradation of their existence. So this revolution will, indeed, be the release of the “wicked passions” of which Bakunin spoke; the destructive passions that are the only door to a free existence. It will be the coming of the barbarians predicted by Dejacque and Coeurderoy. But it is precisely when people know that they no longer have anything to say to their rulers, that they may learn how to talk with each other. It is precisely when people know that the possibilities of this world can offer them nothing that they may learn how to dream the impossible. This network of institutions that dominate our life, this civilization, has turned our world into a toxic prison. There is so much to be destroyed so that a free existence may be created. The time of the barbarians is at hand.

*“[...] May the barbarians break loose. May they sharpen their swords, may they brandish their battleaxes, may they strike their enemies without pity. May hatred take the place of tolerance, may fury take the place of resignation, may outrage take the place of respect. May the barbarian hordes go to the assault, autonomously, in the way that they determine. And may no parliament, no credit institution, no supermarket, no barracks, no factory ever grow again after their passage. In the face of the concrete that rises to strike the sky and the pollution that fouls it, one can well say with Dejacque that ‘It is not the darkness that the Barbarians will bring to the world this time, it is the light.’ — Crisolo/Odoteo*

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# Between Analysis and Vision Moving Beyond the Theory- Practice Dichotomy

By A. Morefus

"I am cruising currently, right now. I am cruising because I have dedicated myself to all that is creative and destructive in my life, right now. And I am equally in love with every aspect of my life, and all the ingredients that have caused me turmoil and all the ingredients that have caused me glory. I am the living whispered warning in the Roman general's ear "glory is fleeting", and in that verb, that active verb, "fleeting", there I live; there I reside in this moment. I have dedicated my life to the idiom, "I don't know", and I am in love with the frantic chaos of this limitless universe."

- Timothy "Speed" Levitch,  
The Cruise

"Pointed threats,  
they bluff with scorn  
Suicide remarks are torn,  
from the fool's gold mouth-piece,  
the hollow horn,  
plays wasted words,  
proves to worn,  
that he not busy being born, is  
busy dying"

- Bob Dylan, It's Alright, Ma (I'm  
Only Bleeding)

As anarchists desiring to be relevant outside of the mostly insular academic journals or often sectarian theoretical discussion groups, it is important to openly explore the space between **analysis** - the critical look at the entanglement of systems, institutions, and circumstances which have brought us to this point (i.e. civilization), and our own personal and communal liberatory **visions** - the world we are trying to create (i.e. a return to wildness). This is an acknowledgement of the complex and multifaceted nature of any political or social movement, the space it inhabits, as well as the interpersonal relationships which develop within and outside of it. Some level of reconciliation with the conflict between our own unrestrained aspirations and the world we live in must occur before we can proceed in changing ourselves or the condition in which we dwell. This is not a support of compromise as a method of action, or a "let's wait till later to fight" attitude, but instead a mediation of the infinite directions and obstacles we must navigate around and through. I am not speaking of what has been described as "anarcho-realism", for that implies a denial of subjectivity and also usually entails "playing their games" or "selling-out" as a model of social change, thus putting it into direct conflict with anarchy. In order to be effective and in tune with the process of change, however, it is important to prioritize fluidity and flexibility over rigidity and purity, and to understand complexity as something which contains contradiction.

For a qualitatively different world, it is helpful to synthesize the positive aspects of previous attempts at creating liberated societies or circumstances, to learn from past mistakes, and most importantly, to go beyond, or apart from, prior methods. Moving along ideological lines has proven to be only good at superficially unifying mass populations, and is ultimately limited by its homogenizing process and disconnection from individual realities, as well as its lack of relevance to the larger political context. We must step outside

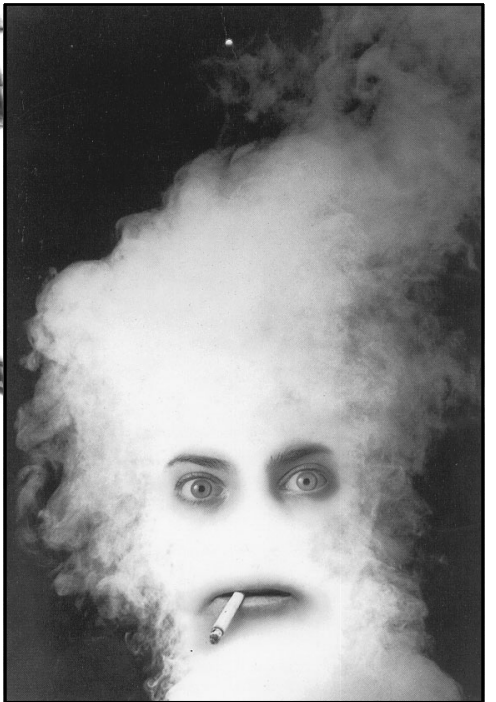
of the two segregated, linear, and illusory models of social change: 1) *The development of a perfect critique along with the deconstruction our own social programming and conception of "flawless" interpersonal relationships in order to sometime down the road "fight the revolution"* or 2) *"Fighting the revolution now" and then later dealing with the damaged survivors' bodies, hearts, and minds (the "we'll figure it out later" approach)*. Both are limited and dangerous models to work from. Limited, in the sense that one cannot happen without the other; they must be organically intertwined along with many other priorities. Dangerous, because we will never get to the stage of physically dismantling the apparatus of control and its institutions if we are exclusively inwardly focused; and equally dangerous, because as damaged and pathologically socialized beings, we will reproduce unhealthy and dominating patterns, ultimately recreating an unqualitatively different society.

Presentation style can be problematic when exploring methods of social or personal transformation. Even though some seemingly static or factual information may be relatively fixed, it is important to be clear that all analysis is obtained through various social filters and particular biases. For our personal or communal visions to remain non-ideological, they must be presented in an organic and subjective way. It is always good to avoid painting ourselves into boxes, yet at the same time, not be too ambivalent. For instance, there are times and places to use "short-hand" or "lingo", such as the numerous prefixes anarchists tend use in order to give a general priority in terms of their analysis or vision (i.e. green, red, pink, insurrectionary, etc.), but ultimately these are restraining and often make things less apparent, rather than actually helping to illustrate complicated perspectives. Therefore, it is good to be limber in how we explain ourselves, depending on those we are in contact with, having a situational description. This is not to say we should "dumb things down". Aside from that being an elitist attitude, it is usually not good at doing anything but alienating people. Nor should we be chameleon-like, and try to be what flows or fits within a specific group or clique. It is more honest and effective to relate to others' lives and specific circumstances, or give examples of how you integrate your perspective into your everyday life. It is also much more favorable and less dictatorial to raise questions rather than to give answers. Of course, direct communication is preferred over mediated and impersonal modes of expression/ connection like Internet posts. Finally, when discussing or presenting ideas or concerns with others whom you respect or wish to work with on any level, it is always important to be able to separate criticisms and internal discussions from denunciations and self-righteous posturing, unless your only goal is to be right or pure.

When we actually get down to the discussions of what is to be done, within the context of our small de-centralized groups, and the larger political and civilized realm, two limiting factors must be taken into account: our *physical needs* and our *psychological state*. Both are direct factors on the pace and scope from which we can bring about change, and both deserve considerable and honest thought before, or at least in the discussion of, developing projects or immediate objectives. We all need to eat. We all need shelter. Within the capitalist system (and we can pretend that we are not, or make it our primary focus to not be dependent on it) we need a small amount of money, both for personal and communal survival, but also to sustain most anarchist projects. We should be cautious when criticizing this aspect of other anarchists' lives. Pulling away from the system is an essential part of an anarchist trajectory, yet we are all somehow dependent on it, and to dwell too much on the hypocrisy of this will get us nowhere. It is good to be conscious of this, and try to lessen our dependency through re-appropriation, self-sufficiency, and simple living, but until the capitalist system is thoroughly destroyed, we are all somewhat reliant on it. This is a major factor in their control mechanisms. Also, we need to keep in mind, that we have all been severely damaged by the domesticating processes of the dominant culture. We have all been socialized with fucked-up roles, keeping us in a perpetual state of misery and subservience to, and for the benefit of, the system, keeping us at odds with each other. Many are not psychologically or emotionally



capable of participating on certain levels. How can we learn to accept limitations, and also work to decrease or compensate for them? The healing process is always ongoing. It is a significant element of the revolutionary process, not a before or after project. Compassion is an important component often lacking from radical scenes and this absence stifles healing and growth. We must figure out how to reconcile that we are all at once victims and victimizers, colonized and colonizers, healers and perpetrators. We can in no way be condoning of abusive or dominating behaviors, which must be dealt with firmly in accordance to a group's processes, but they also need to be acknowledged as symptoms of a larger colonizing and domesticating system. This pattern must be broken. Privilege is yet another factor to take into account when



developing strategies or projects - our privileges or societal status as individuals or groups, in relation to others. Yet, this should not be seen as a limiting aspect, but more of a factor to be examined and carefully thought about in our interactions with those around us. Too often, all of these factors provide redundant restrictions on our actions and our dreams, rather than being places from which our rage and momentum can develop.

Often, people's response to the limitations placed on the development of liberated communities is to carve out "autonomous" spaces on the fringe of society. While there is an important element to this, as a relatively "free" space to create healthier dynamics, to move outside many of capitalism's restrictions, or as a stronger position to fight the system from, it often becomes a "vacation-land" and escapist dreamscape. Escapism is not a preferable route to take for many reasons. It neglects to account for the inevitable co-optation and engulfing process by the apparatus of the system, or the limitations placed on "escapist" projects which may not be as apparent at their inception. These projects may be helpful in providing isolated experiments in dealing with specific problems or in practicing

certain skills, but are ultimately lacking in their connection to the larger context of reality, which makes them inherently artificial, possibly useful, but contextually vacuous. Without also being connected to projects aimed at undermining, dismantling, or destroying the system, they often cash in on certain privileges, rather than using them to combat the system. They make revolution only half way, and often not at all. (... And to regress, or be just a little reactionary, for just second... I get pretty fuckin' tired of those "who are no longer political" or "just living their lives" judging or even commenting on people or projects still continuing on in resistance. It is understandable why some would lose hope in the prospects of the tremendous project of all the dismantling that is needed, but you cannot be outside and inside whenever it meets your convenience or safety. Anarchy is not a past time, intellectual game, or a social club!)

Everything we do is, in some way, a compromise of our unalienated desires or liberated goals, and all is muddled with the unhealthy and confining context we live in. Nothing is pure. Inactivity and taintlessness may be a sanitary response, but what does it actually get us but self-righteous satisfaction, nothing we can actually touch or feel. This does not even take into account the fact that we are all, on varying levels, complicit in the systems of domination, and therefore, purity of ideas is virtually meaningless. For us to move towards a revolutionary situation and a more healthy social condition, we need to come to grips with this fact. Meanwhile we should openly critique or understand the reformist or symptomatic projects we, or others, are involved with;

in fact, this is a necessary process in any evolving group or movement, but not along absolutist or ideologically pure lines. There are many important anarchist projects which are not insurrectionary in nature, that are not directly attacking the apparatus of the system. These are important, however, in the creation of insurrectionary situations or revolutionary conditions. They should be seen for their value and also their limitations. There are numerous examples of what could be termed “reformism from a revolutionary perspective” (outreach, education, conferences, info-shops, publications, prisoner support, community spaces, mutual aid networks, gardens, etc.). However, there are some important and honest questions to ask ourselves or others when developing these types of projects: *What are the goals? What do they offer an anarchist community or movement? How are they organized? Are they flexible? Are they meant to be permanent? Do the inherent compromises outweigh the positive effects? Are they supporting, running parallel to, or moving away from the system? Can they support or compliment, or are they in conflict with or limiting, the possibility of insurrectionary moments? Is their creation needed to move towards a revolutionary situation? Are they restricting the movement towards a revolutionary situation?* For example, we need to obtain our physical nourishment from somewhere. Some anarcho-primitivists take a more absolutist approach in stating that the only appropriate skills to be learning in this regard center around hunting and gathering. While many primitivists and green anarchists agree that this form of subsistence is ideal, preferable, and least dominating, the fact is, this is almost impossible at this time for most people. The reconciliation for many is to learn methods of growing food such as some forms of permaculture, which are outside of the traditional methods of agriculture and in tune with natural processes. This is often done alongside learning primitive skills and with the understanding that there is a certain level of domestication involved in growing food (but certainly far less than eating tofu at vegetarian restaurants). For many, this is one of numerous possibilities in a temporary transition, which can occur during a natural and human encouraged re-wilding process.

If we remain only in the analysis or visionary realm, never getting our hands dirty or touching the ground, we will go nowhere. We cannot be limited by only looking back or forward, and we must certainly do more than just look (analyze/criticize/theorize). We must be willing to make mistakes and experiment. Anarchy is alive and organic and situation oriented. It is a process, not a historical framework, theoretical game, or utopian endpoint. We must attempt to effect the physical plane and make anarchy now, even if it is not complete or immaculate. It is in the process that we experience anarchy, not in the idea or as a conclusion. The connection

between anarchism and the decentralized forms of feminism can be seen as a positive example of the withering of a seemingly overwhelming gap between analysis and vision, by being rooted in the everyday life. Within anarcho-feminism, there is often a harmonizing of analysis and vision through daily activity and the meeting of the essential needs of individuals and their communities (i.e. community childcare, women’s healthcare, support groups, self-defense) and the overcoming of the obstacles of Patriarchy. D.I.Y. (Do It Yourself) culture is a more general positive example of this dynamic, yet it often lacks the more overt political nature. If the idea of “Revolution” is to retain any meaning, it needs to be situational in orientation, rooted in the personal desires for liberation, and also be relating to the context in which it resides. It is a living and breathing phenomenon and it is never complete. In general, it is good to avoid flattening situations, or standardizing responses. Flexibility is the key to avoiding stagnation of ideas and activities. Whether ideological or physical, it is important to think outside of our (or their) boxes, however radical we think our ideas are; it is the only way we may grow. Yes, there are times to draw lines, to place limitations or borders around things, but these should be temporary and consensual black and white directions and activities in a larger sea of gray. The gray line is what holds us together, and at the same time, respects individuality and the moment.

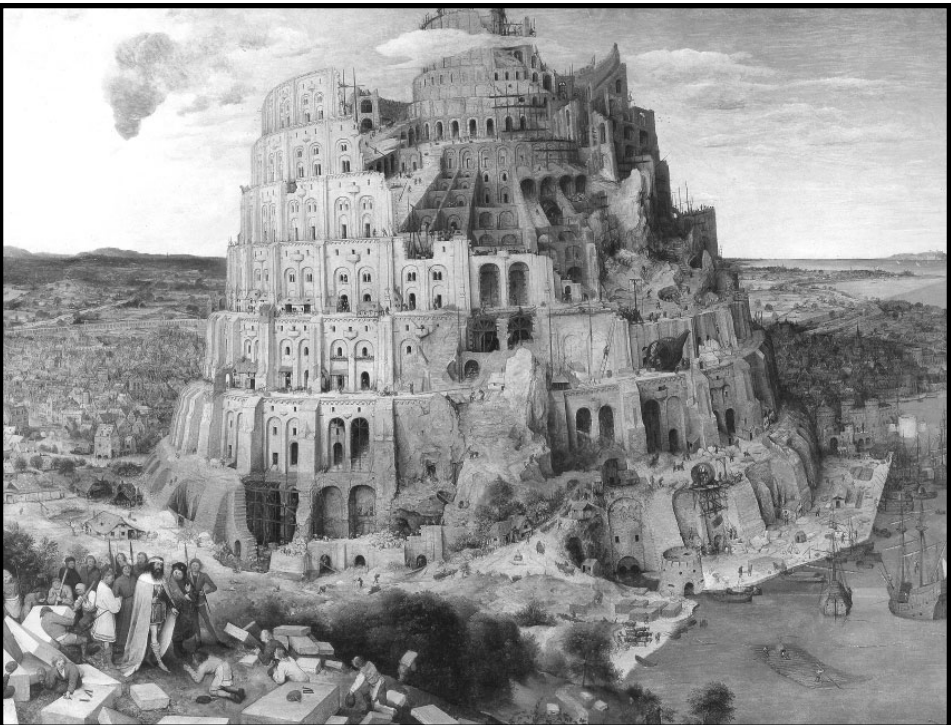
**Create, live, and experience anarchy now!**

“The problem that confronts us today, and which the nearest future is to solve, is how to be one’s self and yet in oneness with others, to feel deeply connected with all human beings and still retain one’s own characteristic qualities”  
- **Emma Goldman, The Tragedy of Woman’s Emancipation**

“But I am not finished. I seem to be residing within a borderland that is not a place of trauma and stress – but not yet a place of healing. Some symptoms hang on, and there is a feeling like on a rocky shoreline... The last stretch of the journey is as trying as was the beginning, I have accomplished the bulk of the inner work, and yet I am still grappling to believe. After a lifetime of knowing only the psychic fragmentation that has protected me from the truth, to become true to myself lies within vision – and yet seems beyond reach.”  
- **Chellis Glendinning, Off the Map**



There is absolutely no inevitability as long as there is a willingness to contemplate what is happening.



# A QUEST AMONG the BEWILDERED

Living does not come cheaply nor easily in Babylon — not here at the pinnacle of post-post-industrial society — in America, the Disneyland of the World. I’m not talking about thriving or prospering, but merely surviving as something more than a seething lump of flesh clinging to a hollow bone shell, guided by an acutely socialized computer we call a brain. I don’t regard that as *living*.

No, these mechanisms do survive and prosper in, and indeed define, the Babylonian world. Babylon rewards them for their ignorance, their arrogance, their ruthless greed and their submission to their own untended fears. The Babylonian machine (call it “the system” if you must, but do not place it entirely outside yourself (ourselves), for that is its greatest trap) pits each being against another in senseless competition: for the “privilege” of schooling and meaningful employment, for recognition and attention, for intellectual and moral superiority, for the most subservient lovers. Here, vanity wields its paralyzing glance against the living like a Medusa.

The Babylonian economic system supports the hostile aggressor, the one who seeks to control others in a master/servant relationship (owner/worker, landlord/tenant — the lines are not as indistinct as social scientists would like us to believe) either by usurping basic human resources (land, shelter, food, water) in order to profit from others’ needs, or by acquiescent service to the dominant ones (This is second-hand control — that which we call the “business” or “management” class, but it is control just the same.). One’s status and value as a human is deduced by the amount of resources one controls.

Babylon in turn rewards its dolts for their dependency on the system (in our society, it is not the squeaky wheel which gets the grease, it is the squeaky wheel which gets removed, replaced and thrown in the junk pile). It whitewashes the life force in the individual by inducing a fear for one’s own survival — compelling the individual to believe that one must conform to the process of the Machine. We are a gullible lot; the lies have us by the throat, and our terror drives us with an insatiable madness to possess, control and consume everything that Babylon breeds.

At this moment, the iron jaws of Babylon wait to consume the last vestiges of life on this planet which remain outside of its control. The demise of true freedom appears inevitable, at least until Babylon’s lust consumes its last victim, then turns back to consume itself with the same ferocious insanity with which it consumed all life. Most cultures, even Babylonian culture, have in their mythology and literature an Armageddon or Doomsday prophecy. I don’t put much faith in prophecies. These are simply observations, made without judgment, about which I am completely willing to be wrong. Just show me otherwise.

But I also recognize that everywhere the system thrives, there are people struggling to survive — between the cogs and wheels and belts and circuits of this machine, living off the dismembered organs of life’s legacy, off the scraps of hope that organic, unfettered life on this planet may outlive the Babylonian machine. These are people striving to live as physically, emotionally and spiritually (I leave that definition up to you) integrated beings, aware of and compatible with their environment. These are people living to free themselves of mental slavery — this idea that life should submit to humans (and a very select few, at that) rather than humans submit to the natural process of life; free of the conception that humans have some “responsibility to” or “purpose in” the scheme of the cosmos; that we are somehow “important” to the survival of the universe. We are not. We could destroy ourselves and take the entire galaxy with us, and the universe wouldn’t even bat an eye. This egocentric self-importance is a childish fallacy (not child-like, by any means) which we must overcome for our own sake and the sake of the planet. (Then again, we can choose not to.)

Perhaps the most difficult needs for fugitives of Babylon to fulfill are the psychic and emotional staples which are so readily, adamantly denied in modern society: support in coming to terms with the limits of our own humanity; in understanding that we are, as sentient beings, basically alone in the universe *and* to feel secure in experiencing that; in exploring one’s own individuality; in living as creatures of need; asking for help and feeling safe in offering help to others; in finding activity based on love rather than on the ego-fulfillment defined by Babylon’s “ladder of success,” and in securing our base, physical needs without the threat of indentured servitude in order to do so.

If you think that I’m referring to Marxism or Socialism or revolution, or to this or that minority group or movement for change, you are wrong. The inherent failure in most demands for social change is that they seek the benefits of Babylon, not its demise. I don’t call this selling out, but rather, giving in to the fear induced by Babylon’s control. I can fault no one for that. Fear is a powerful force which, when not embraced, sublimely manifests itself in the most grotesque of mutations. If change is to come then we must lead by example, creating counter-cultures based on entirely new values. You cannot beat new values into people, but you can show them a different option and give them a choice.

We are all subject to the psychic residue of Babylonian thought — all of us — the radical, the saint, the conformist and the reactionary. What hope there is in outliving the great beast lies in following our instincts to a different way of life — in retracing our emotional needs and our desires back to their source, in giving them priority over public opinion, and in having the courage to stand with them even when it means we stand alone. You are not alone, I assure you, even though physical reality screams otherwise.

Unfortunately, meeting this challenge comes with no guarantees — not of being “right” or of proving something wrong, not of persuading others to see your point of view, not of anything. That is the nature of life itself; it’s a spin of the wheel and everyone’s got their own lucky number. But perhaps, just perhaps, if enough of us believe and follow our paths, our luck won’t run out.



# Thoughts on the City

## Progress never destroys as thoroughly as when it builds

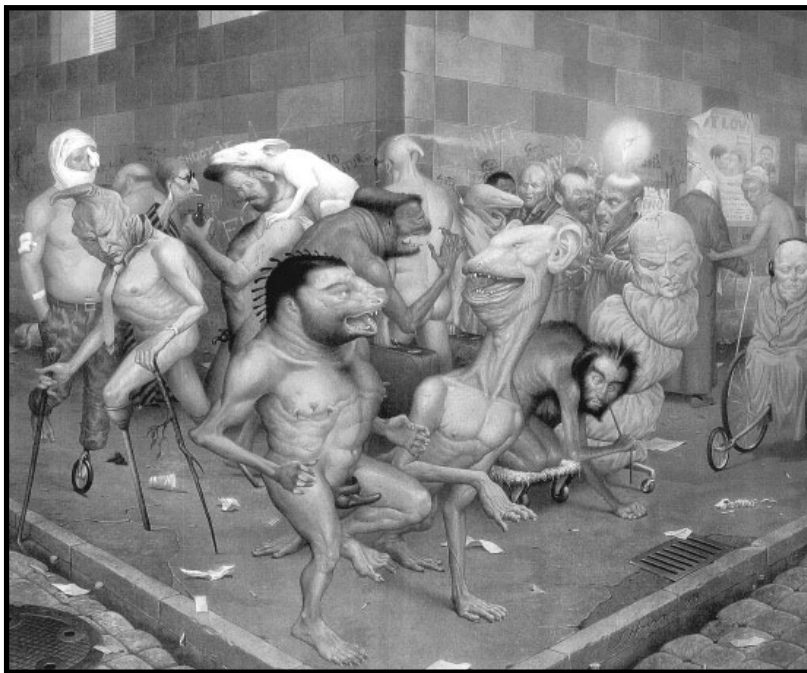
The necessity for space is eminently political. The places in which we live condition the ways in which we live, and inversely, our relationships and activities modify the spaces of our lives. It's a question of daily experience, and yet we seem incapable of drawing the tiniest result from it. One only needs to take a walk through any city to understand the nature of the poverty of our way of life. Almost all urban space responds to two needs: profit and social control. They are places of consumption organized according to the increasingly strict rules of a market in continuous expansion: the security market. The model is that of the commercial center; a collective privatized space, watched by the people and instruments provided by the appropriate agencies. In the commercial centers, an increasingly "personalized" sociality is built around the consumer and his family; now, one can eat, play with children, read, etc. in these neon places. But if one enters without any money, one discovers that it is a terrifying illusion of life.

The same thing happens, more or less, in the metropolises. Where can one meet for discussion, where can one sit without the obligation to consume, where can one drink, where can one sleep, if one has no money? For an immigrant, for a poor person, for a woman, a night in the city can be long. The moderates, comfortable in their houses, don't know the nocturnal world of the street, the dark side of the neon, when the police wake you up on the benches, when everything seems foreign and hostile to you. When the middle classes are enclosed in their bunkers, cities reveal their true faces as inhuman monsters.

Cities increasingly come to resemble fortresses, and houses, security cells. Social war - the war between the rich and the poor, the governors and the governed - is institutionalized in urban space. The poor are deported to the outskirts in order to leave the centers to the offices and banks (or to the tourists). The entrances of the cities and a great many "sensitive" areas are watched by apparatuses that get more sophisticated every day. The lack of access to determined levels of consumption - levels defined and controlled by a fixed computer network in which the data of banking, insurance, medical, scholastic and police systems are woven together - determines, in the negative, the new dangerous classes, who are confined in very precise urban zones. The characteristics of the new world order are reflected in metropolitan control. The borders between countries and continents correspond to the boundaries between neighborhoods or to the magnetic cards for access to specific private buildings or, as in the United States, to certain residential areas. International police operations recall the war against crime or, more recently, the politics of "zero tolerance" through which all forms of deviance are criminalized. While throughout the world the poor are arrested by the millions, the cities assume the form of immense prisons. Don't the yellow lines that consumers have to follow in certain London commercial centers remind you of those on which some French prisoners have to walk? Isn't it possible to catch a glimpse of the checkpoints in the Palestinian territories in the militarization of Genoa during the G8 summit? Proposals for a nightly curfew for adolescents have been approved in cities just two steps away from ours (in France for example). The houses of correction reopen, a kind of penal colony for youth; assembling in the inner courtyards of the popular condominiums (the only space for collective life in many sleeping quarters) is banned. Already, in most European cities, the homeless are forbidden access to the city center and beggars are fined, like in the Middle Ages. One may propose (like the Nazis of yesterday and the mayor of Milan today) the creation of suitable centers for the unemployed and their families, modeled after the lagers for undocumented immigrants. Metallic grids are built between rich (and white) neighborhoods and poor (and... non-white) neighborhoods. Social apartheid is advancing, from the United States to Europe, from the south to the north of the world. When one in three blacks between the ages of 20 and 35 get locked up in cells (as occurs in the United States), the proposal for closing the city centers to immigrants here can pass almost unobserved by us. And many may even applaud the glorious

marine military when it sinks the boats of the undocumented foreigners. In an interweaving of classist exclusion and racial segregation, the society in which we live increasingly looks like a gigantic accumulation of ghettos.

Once again the link between the forms of life and the places of life is close. The increasing precariousness of broad layers of society proceeds at the same pace as the isolation of individuals, with the disappearance of meeting spaces (and therefore of struggle) and at the bottom, the reserves in which most of the poor are left to rot. From this social condition, two typically totalitarian phenomena are born: the war between the exploited, which reproduces without filters the ruthless



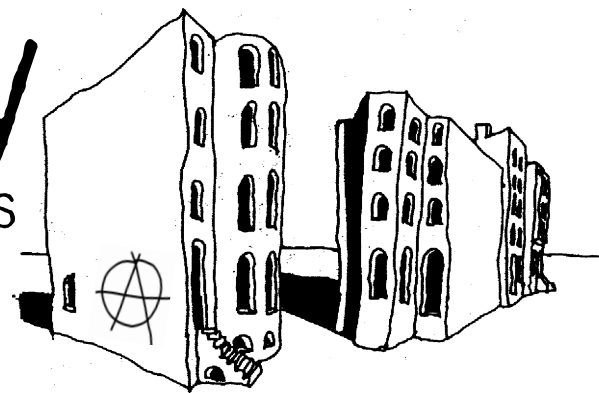
competition and social climbing upon which capitalist relationships are built, and the demand for order and security, produced and sponsored by a propaganda that is perpetually hammered home. With the end of the "cold war", the Enemy has been moved, both politically and through the media, into the interior of the "free world" itself. The collapse of the Berlin Wall corresponds to the construction of the barriers between Mexico and the United States or to the development of electronic barriers for the protection of the citadels inhabited by the ruling classes. The criminalization of the poor is openly described as a "war of low intensity", where the enemy, "the exotic terrorist", here becomes the illegal foreigner, the drug addict, the prostitute. The isolated citizen, tossed about between work and consumption through those anonymous spaces that are the ways and means of transport, swallows terrifying images of treacherous young people, slackers, cut-throats - and an imprecise and unconscious feeling of fear takes possession of individual and collective life.

Our apparently peaceful cities increasingly show us the marks of this planetary tendency to government through fear, if we learn how to look for them.

If politics is defined as the art of command, as a specialized activity that is the monopoly of bureaucrats and functionaries, then the cities in which we live are the political organization of space. If, on the other hand, it is defined as a common sphere for discussion and decisions regarding common problems, then one could say that the urban structure is projected intentionally toward depoliticizing individuals in order to keep them in isolation and lost in the mass at the same time. In the second case, therefore, the political activity par excellence is revolt against urban planning as police science and practice; it is the

uprising that creates new spaces for encounter and communication. In either sense, the question of space is an eminently political question.

A full life is a life that is able to skillfully mix the pleasure of solitude and the pleasure of encounter. A wise intermingling of villages and countryside, of plazas and free expanses could render the art of building and dwelling magnificent. If, with a utopian leap, we project ourselves outside of industrialism and urbanization, in short outside of the long history of removal on which the current technological society is built, we can imagine



small communities based on face-to-face relationships that are linked together, without hierarchies between human beings or domination over nature. The journey would cease to be a standardized transport between weariness and boredom and would become an adventure free of clocks. Fountains and sheltered places would welcome passers-by. Wild nature could once again become a place of discovery and stillness, of tremors and escape from humanity. Villages could be born from forests without violence in order to then return to being countryside and forest. We can't even imagine how animals and plants would change when they no longer feel threatened by human beings. Only an alienated humanity could conceive of accumulation, profit and power as the basis for life on Earth. While the world of commodities is in liquidation, threatened by the implosion of all human contact and by ecological catastrophe, while young people slaughter each other and adults muddle through on psycho-pharmaceuticals, exactly what is at stake becomes clearer: subverting social relationships means creating new spaces for life and vice versa. In this sense, a "vast operation of urgent demolition" awaits us.

Mass industrial society destroys solitude and the pleasure of meeting at the same time. We are increasingly constrained to be together, due to forced displacements, standardized time, and mass-produced desires; yet we are increasingly isolated, unable to communicate, devoured by anxiety and fear, unable, above all, to struggle together. Any real communication, any truly egalitarian dialogue can only take place through the

rupture of normality and habit, only in revolt.

In various parts of the world, the exploited refuse every illusion about the best possible world, turning their feeling of total spoliation against power. Rising up against the exploiters and their guard dogs, against their property and their values, the exploited discover new and old ways of being together, discussing, deciding and making merry.

From the Palestinian territories to the aarch (village assemblies) of the Algerian insurgents, uprisings free spaces for social self-organization. Often the rediscovered assembly forms are like applications of old traditions of face-to-face relationships, hostile to all representation, forged in the pride of other struggles, to the current agenda. If violent rupture is the basis of uprisings, their capacity to experiment with other ways of living, in hope that the exploited elsewhere will stoke their flames, is what renders them lasting, since even the most beautiful utopian practices die in isolation.

The places of power, even those that are not directly repressive, are destroyed in the course of riots not only because of their symbolic weight, but also because, in power's realms, there is no life.

Behind the problem of homes and collective spaces, there stand an entire society. It is because so many work year after year to pay off a loan simply to keep a roof over their head that they aren't able to find either the will or the space to talk with each other about the absurdity of such a life. On the other hand, the more that collective spaces are enclosed, privatized or brought under state control, the more houses themselves become small, grey, uniform and unhealthy fortresses. Without resistance, everything is degraded at a startling speed. Where peasants lived and cultivated the land for the rich as recently as fifty years ago, now the people of rank live. The current residential neighborhoods are the most unlivable of the common houses of thirty years ago. Luxury hotels seem like barracks. The logical consequences of this totalitarianism in urban planning are those sorts of tombs in which Japanese employees reload their batteries. The classes that exploit the poor are, in their turn, mistreated by the system that they have always zealously defended.

Practicing direct action in order to snatch the spaces for life from power and profit, occupying houses and experimenting with subversive relationships, is a very different thing from any sort of more or less fashionable alternative juvenilism. It is a matter that concerns all the exploited, the left-out, the voiceless. It's a question of discussing and organizing without mediators, of placing the self-determination of our relationships and spaces against the constituted order, and of attacking the urban cages. In fact, we do not think that it is possible to cut ourselves out any space within this society that is truly self-organized where we can live our own way. Our desires are far too excessive. We want to create breaches, go out into the streets, speak in the plazas, in search of accomplices for making the assault on the old world. Life in society is to be reinvented. ***This is everything.***

# On Sabotage as One of the Fine Arts:

## A contribution to the topic of the theory of the practice of Sabotage

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*Who will revive the violent whirlpools of flame if not us  
and those that we consider brothers?  
Come! New friends: this will please you.  
We will never work, oh tides of flame!  
This world will explode.  
It's the true path. Forward, on the march.*  
— A. Rimbaud

The spread of sabotage, its increasing practice, on a greater or lesser scale, against the domination of the market, is a given fact. Burning ATM booths, disabling locks at shopping centers, smashing shop windows, setting fire to the offices of temp agencies and employment offices, the sabotage of the infrastructure of capitalism (high-speed railroads, dams, expressways, construction projects) ... are offensive practices against the colonization of our lives by the most advanced form of colonialism — the integrated spectacle.

All this is put into practice by individuals bored with survival as commodities (life reduced to economic imperatives) and disillusioned with false opposition (more false and less oppositional with each day that goes by), parties and unions that want to manage our misery and integrate us into a mode of production that prevents us from any participation in the decisions that relate directly to us and that assist in enslaving us, mutilating every gesture of negation of the existent.

The spectacle writes the scenario and distributes the roles: worker, professional, student, housewife, mother, father, son, daughter, unemployed, police, soldier, artist, humanitarian, intellectual... the majority, individuals who assume different roles in the course of 24 hours, see their existence as still more terrible, assuming this is possible. Everyone with his neurotic-schizoid viewpoint that will react to the stimuli launched by power in the way that was already expected.

All social activity is planned in order to reinforce the spectacle, thus slowing down its unstoppable process of decomposition. Though we don't want to hear the shrieking of militants of whatever organization, clearly we are not against the concept of "organization" as such, but against "organization" conceived as an end in itself, as the crystallization of any ideology, and as a separated organ, representing a class.

We are for the autonomous self-organization of the exploited. History has shown through two clear examples that the traditional form of the party (Russian revolution) and union (Spanish revolution) were nothing more than two attempts to manage capitalism and not to overcome it, and this is something that, consciously or unconsciously, everybody knows. In the seizure of power, it is not destroyed, but exercised: in the first case, the class of bureaucrats replaced the bourgeoisie, and in the other case, the anarcho-sindicalist leaders participated in bourgeois power, calling for the self-management of exploitation and alienation, while the base tried to overcome the relationships of production and social relationships in practice through the direct management of every aspect of their lives and not just work.

To be precise, both forms have the exaltation of work in common (something that they also share with national-socialism and with every political form of capitalism).

Their quantitative vision sought an increase in production, leaving aside the qualitative increase of life. This (practical and theoretical) defeat of the traditional organizations, which claim to represent us, has not been absorbed by the working class (it seems that we only know how to work), and we go along without maintaining any possibility of control over essential aspects of our lives, in a world that is developed, not only without our participation, but against us.

But, comrades, history is not cyclic; it is a cumulative process and already weighs too heavily upon our weary bodies.

-2-

*Never did mockers waste more idle breath.*  
— William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

The contradiction between the possibilities of the means of production (the use of a few of them for the enjoyment of all, since most of them are useless and harmful and would be destroyed) and the relations of production (waged exploitation, commodification, the exclusions of class society) has reached an insurmountable point of rupture. In the spectacle it is easier to falsify the nature of this contradiction than to increase mercantile production with increasing use value. This inertia forces it to display all of its methods for recuperating any real movement of opposition and to turn the spectacular critique of the spectacle to its advantage.

A self-critical hypocrite directed by its own police of decomposed thought (pro-situationists, cadres, non-governmental organizations, recuperators, artists, journalists... the clique of politically correct alternatives).

These toilet brushes of modernity, like good priests, hope that with their patches, the proper development of the system will lead us, hand in hand, into an ideal world planned by their false consciousness and by the putridity of their armored brains; as if they had ever given us anything. Their social function, which has been denounced for decades already, has been worth more to them than any aggressions, beatings or assassinations, and we are sure that these will not be mere anecdotes. They deceive and manipulate us. We must not allow them to have a single day more. They are the guardians to the keys of our informal chains. They amuse us with insignificant debates. They impose their opinions on us, avoiding questions so simple that they would make them tremble with terror: How best to live? Who and what *keeps* us from this? Questions that immediately unmask the professionals of the lie. Critical coherence and the critique of incoherence aid in this operation.

-3-

*Injustice is not anonymous; it has a name and an address.*  
— Bertold Brecht

Situationist theory, as integral critique of the totality of the conditions of survival and of the mercantile-spectacular capitalism that necessitates them, has been confirmed in events by falsification.

One cannot fight alienation by means of alienated forms. The sabotage of this world starts with the break with the roles the system imposes on us, the sabotage of our death in life and the refusal of the roles that they have allotted and appointed to us. To speak of the Revolution in these times is "to have a corpse in one's mouth". We only need to look around ourselves to see a scenario that constantly reminds us of the defeat. Sabotage is thus an action that serves as a propellant against the unreality that oppresses us. A practice that has not gone unnoticed by ideological recuperation, which has transformed it into "terrorism" (the professionalization of sabotage that has done no more than reinforce the system, due to its centralist, hierarchical and militarist character). Today, what is proposed is not the creation of an armed organization of this type, but widespread attack by small affinity groups, uncontrollable by any higher organization, that come together and dissolve like the lunar tides. The tides that are born of the awareness of how bad things are and of the worsening that awaits us due to events.

In the 19th century, such a practice existed that put the incipient capitalism in check. Beyond the Luddite attacks, the "proletarian rounds" rendered their repression and recuperation, in which the embryonic unions would play a role, almost impossible due to their lack of a rigid structure and their maximum flexibility in attacks. A group of people came together, struck and disappeared into the mass, while a new group came together within it. Such widespread sabotage makes it difficult for the enemy to organize repression. Thus it transforms the attack into a universe of pleasure for the enlightened hooligan, the feelings of which are impossible to describe or communicate with the poor and banal language of words.

The game of subversion, the rules of which are written by those that participate in it, becomes an effective weapon against capitalism in all its forms.

There is much more to destroy than to build.

-4-

*Our epoch does not need to write poetic slogans, but to realize them.*  
— Situationist International

It has been demonstrated that small groups that attack do more damage than large organizations that specialize in armed struggle. The Angry Brigade continued its actions when people were arrested and the English state assumed the movement had fallen apart. The Kale Borroka (street struggle) in Euskadi, which Jarrai (the youth organization of the Basque nationalist left, NDR) recently declared uncontrollable, is another example. Power has difficulty repressing and eliminating little groups that with complete security do not know each other, and the only thing that unites them is the desire for the destruction of a system that prevents them from living and condemns them to survival and uncertainty.

They don't attempt exhibitionist actions in order to make propaganda as some acronym or mark of origin. In the case of the Asturias, sabotage was a class weapon used innumerable times, particularly in labor conflicts with these enterprises: Duro Felguera, Hunosa, Naval and Ciata... (Asturian businesses and mines where sabotage was determinant in the struggles going on in the 1990's); every weary person, regardless of her or his ideology, uses it. From the clerk who steals office supplies to the worker who damages the machine to which he is chained, passing through the use of plastic explosives like the licensed professionals of Duro Felguera. Today, the example is the burning of the ETTs (temporary employment agencies). The practice of sabotage remains limited to precise and very localized conflicts, without global perspectives, simply aiming for partial solutions with economic demands that remain within imposed limits where capitalist logic unfolds. The same holds in the case of the ETTs, an attack that goes beyond the temporality of a conflict in one enterprise, but that does not place wage slavery into question. Instead it only questions its most extreme form, not aiming at putting an end to exploitation, but rather to the ETTs. Today the conflict is global and it is not resolved through partial struggles, but through total struggle and through the refusal of this society as a whole. It is

necessary to put an end to the reduction of our lives to commodities and to wage labor that wears us out, not just to ETTs. We must put an end to class society and not just fascism. Misdirecting our attention toward partial objectives only benefits the managers of our misery and those who will one day lay claim to its management, and both are among the targets for sabotage.

The widespread practice of sabotage (unhindered autonomy, maximum flexibility, self-organization, minimum risk) among like-minded individuals, opens the possibility for real communication, destroying spectacular communication, smashing the apathy and impotence of the eternal revolutionist monologue. Relationships and the possibility of contact with other people in the refusal of the spectacular role, these are transient situations that in their preparation and development carry in their essence the qualities of the revolutionary situation that will not retreat and that will suppress the conditions of survival. It does not fall into the irremediable alienating hierarchization that every specialized armed group of an authoritarian and militaristic character, to which the masses delegate their participation in the attack, carries within itself.

The quantitative growth of this practice does not come to us from the hands of propagandists of the spectacle, but rather by taking a walk through the scenario of capitalism, and finding in this drift the burned ATM, the ETTs with shattered windows, the smiths changing the locks of a supermarket. These visions make our complicit smiles blossom and move us to go out that very night to play with fire with the aim of making the same smiles rise on the faces of unknown accomplices through the fellowship of destruction. The number doesn't matter, but rather the quality of the acts: sabotage, expropriations, self-reduction... they return part of the life that is denied us back to us, but we want it all.

Comrades, the game is yours and we take courage in its daily practice. Organize it yourselves with your accomplices.

Against the old world in all its expressions, in order to leave pre-history, let's launch and multiply attacks.

by The Asturian Institute of Comparative Vandalism

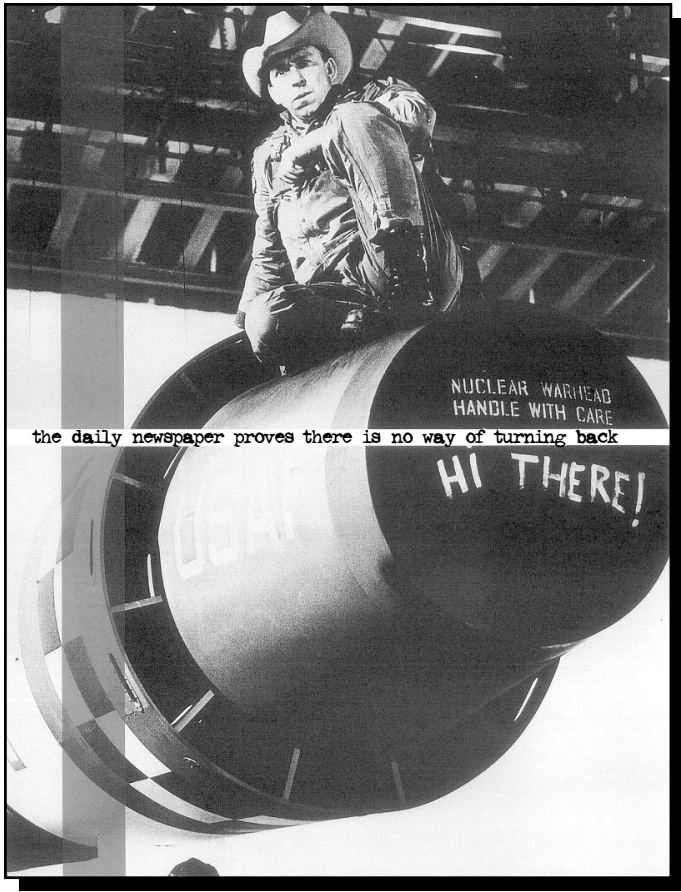
## Create Spontaneity



## Deny the ritual



# ZERO WAR – TOTAL LIBERATION



## INTRODUCTION

This article has had to go through numerous revisions and rewrites in a desperate and often failing attempt to stay ‘current’. Indeed one of the most difficult things we face in resisting Capital’s bloody adventures (or bloody banalities if you prefer) is the global dimensions of this global war. By this I don’t just mean physical space, but maybe less tangible elements that work to reinforce the tangible nature of our current oppression. For one the “war on terror” is working to reinforce and deepen a globalised temporal order. The global size of the planning and execution of the war (and its simultaneous transformation into news/entertainment/marketing) happens in a digital/artificial “Real Time”<sup>©</sup>. The speed of these endeavors is ever increasing, and the multitude on the whole is left to spectate on a bewildering display of men in suits, tanks and special effects. The ever increasing pace of the war (and for that matter the rest of the global order - can you make a distinction?) makes it difficult to think, conceptualize and act.

## BEYOND ANTI-AMERICANISM

... I awoke in a sweat from the American Dream  
- Amebix

One of the first failings of the resistance against militarization is intellectual. There seems to be a sloppy anti-Americanism that abounds throughout anti-war sentiment in Australia. This anti-Americanism is attractive to many because it is something of an antidote to the cynical flag waving and rhetoric that parades across our screens. It is also credible since it identifies the litany of violent and abusive acts carried out by the US State. However, to identify the causes of global militarization as a product of a particularly nauseating element of US foreign policy (the idea that “the seppos” want to take over the world” or that “George W is a moron” – common sentiments in Australian society) is overly simplistic. Militarisation arises not from the US specifically but from a general crisis within the global empire of capital. Whilst the US does have a specific role in this world order as a major spoke in the composition and organization of military and economic forces, the current war is a product of the capital generally. Indeed if anything the “war on terror”- loose short-hand for multiple conflicts between numerous states and states in waiting - is a failing and destructive attempt by capitalism to resolve its unsolvable contradictions: it is an attempt to control an increasingly combative, self-organized and revolutionary multitude.

## THE RE-COLONIZATION OF THE GLOBE

*And the history of this, their expropriation is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire.* - Karl Marx

The individual motivations of Generals in Washington or Saudi Princelings are beyond the ken of lowly proles such as myself. The specific individual histories of individual conflict that motivate the “war on terror” are beyond the scope of this article, however we can make some general observations about the role of war to the global ruling class.

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The cyber-industrial civilization of capital is literally always at war. In fact, since the first development of class society violence has been a key component to the maintenance of order. Wars of extermination and colonization were fought to include more and more territories within the sphere of individual imperialist markets. Wars were fought between individual imperialist powers. As Zerzan identifies, the motivations of imperialist conflicts were often attempts to control the population at home.<sup>2</sup> Class society has never seen peace and is always in a constant state of conflict. The so-called “war on terror” may appear to be a sudden and sharp break with the past, but in reality it is an intensification of a process that has accompanied neo-liberalism as capitalist rackets around the globe have moved to direct violence to reinsure their power.

It is this later motivation for war that is increasingly important to the status quo. As Hardt and Negri write in *Empire* the entire globe has fallen under the domination of Capital, and a shifting multi-centered world order now administers it all. Thus war today is not between different, separate imperialist powers or to include territories within capitalism. Rather it is between factions within a unitary – if hybrid – empire that dominates the globe yet struggles to control the resistance from the multitude. Whilst in their respective propaganda Islamists and ‘Western’ politicians try to define each other as mortal enemies, they both have the same goal in mind: the continuation of the empire of capital.

War thus is increasingly used to re-colonize the globe – however not for one single nation-state but for capital generally. This is achieved through the application and extension of bio-power. “Bio-power is the form of power that regulates social life from its interior, following it, interpreting it, absorbing it and rearticulating it. Power can achieve an effective command over the entire life of the population only when it becomes an integral, vital function that every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her own accord”.<sup>3</sup> Bio-power is the way that control is created when life is subsumed by the logics and apparatus of capital. It is the way that the discipline of the system is found in the entire minutiae that constitute everyday life. It is used in numerous ways. Firstly there is no better way to enclose land and destroy subsistence non-market ways of life than war. Throughout the globe militarization is used to force people into proletarianization. Mass bombings, the torturing of civilians, the imprisoning of whole villages in camps, their transformation into refugees, even supposedly beneficial food aid, enforces the logic of capital – of being governed and controlled by agencies of the state and dependent on the global economy – into peoples’ everyday lives. Indeed in many parts of the world war is the only business in town and soldiering the only ‘profession’.

Subtle methods are often at work. The mapping of land by the military, the construction of military infrastructure is often the vanguard for the construction of the general apparatus of the global economy and the inclusion of previously peripheral populations into the matrix of cyber-industrial civilization. Indeed there is no better example of this than that of the Laguasa marsh in the Philippines (the site of a decades long Islamic insurgency which is now just a sphere of the “war on terror”), where the military napalmed the marsh into black soil thus literally clearing it of people and life and opening the way for its development into a tourist resort.

For populations already proletarianized, war is a crucial tool used to decompose their agencies of self-activity. A case in point would be that after and during the last Gulf War, the militant oil proletariat throughout the region (including in newly “liberated” Kuwait) suffered greatly through intensified state violence. War increased the naked violence of the state in peoples’ lives, whether it was through the carpet-bombing of Basra or the torturing and disappearance of Palestinians at the hands of US trained Kuwaiti secret police. The increased marginality people face in their lives from war, their increased insecurity, their displacement, works to break down the feelings

of empowerment often necessary for people to launch assaults on capital. Intimidated by soldiers in the streets, planes in the air and the rule of martial law, disobedient populations can be cowed into acquiescence.

In what remains of the global “North” (as much as that has any meaning in these post-modern times of Empire) the use of war to increase the governmentality of the society of control is far more subtle. The recent experience in Australia suggests that the pretext of the war on terror is being used to legitimize and intensify state violence against dissidents. Even more all-encompassing is the use of the discourse of national security to intensify the repressive nature of all the networks of bio-political authority. Militarization is a society-encompassing spectacle that radiates and mutates out from TVs, radios, and conversations in the street. It takes on emotional, psychological forms that generate a sense of fear and hopelessness within the population about the very future of humanity. The real alienation and atomization that make up daily life in cyber-industrial civilization are telescoped to unbearable proportions. This spectacle of militarization makes individuals feel completely powerless and at the mercy of global political and economic forces. Faced with a seeming gulf of violence beyond comprehension, people begin to long intensely for the strong hand of the state to protect and guard them. Paranoia reaches fantastic heights as ethnic minorities become increasingly focused on as the “enemy within”. Coupled with this are feelings of sympathy for the armed wing of the state and its successes. A savage brutalization takes place where people in the malls and workplaces of Sydney begin to believe the security of themselves and their loved ones can only be guaranteed by the deaths of people in Iraq.

Bio-political control, however, is not the just the ideological hegemony of the system: it is not simply the dominance of ideas. Bio-political power arises when all of society is subsumed within the apparatus of capital: when life becomes dominated by the mega-technological world of work. Militarization is, if anything, an extension of all the techniques and technologies of control. The division of labor, specialization, the reduction of the individual into a cog in a machine, the reification of technological ability and the dominance of functional reason – isn’t all this expressed perfectly in the armed forces, in the military-industrial complex? And conversely is not the process of militarization the intensification of all of the above throughout all of society? The post-modern nature of the society of control is evidenced in the collapse of rigid subjectivities. The intensification of the “soldier” socially is the intensification of the “soldier” in all of us: our willingness to be trained, ordered, obedient and subjected to surveillance. Conversely, it is also our willingness to produce ourselves and others as soldiers: to order, to command and to subject those around us to surveillance.

Evidence of the above is the announcement that Australia Post now requires that you show photo ID if you are sending a package over 500 gm overseas. Here is an example of where the practice of surveillance and policing intensifies in seemingly innocent every-day situations. Thus mass society, made up of the lashing together of alienated and atomized individuals, becomes even more atrophied as everyone carries out the work of the state.

## MILITARY FORCES OF THE SOCIAL FACTORY

Through the history of capitalism revolutionary resistance to war was based on the refusal to participate in the war machine. Soldiers would mutiny; others would resist conscription or refuse to sign up. Paralleling industrial action in the mass factory, it was the withdrawal of labor from the military factory. This undoubtedly reached a high point in the Vietnam War where the refusal to accept military labor inside and outside of the armed forces reached epidemic proportions. The desertion and mutiny by Iraqi soldiers did far more to end the last Gulf War than US smart bombs.

It is thus increasingly obvious that the use of mass soldiering with mass casualties creates political unrest both inside and



# TOTAL LIBERATION = ZERO WAR

outside the ranks. The days of mass soldiering were tied to those of the dominance of the nation-state. In contrast the process of globalization has seen with it the creation of global networks of organized violence that are co-ordinated through many points. At the center is always a hub of the covert, intelligence and special forces of the Global North and around them cheap proxy armies and mercenaries which the former often trains and co-ordinates. In the muddled world of international politics, these networks are often constructed with whatever is at hand and often appear quite illogical and contradictory. Also whilst capitalism is a global system having no home country, it is not homogenous: splits and rifts at all levels of the ruling class are common and often violent. In fact the change in relationship between US forces and Islamist groups like Al-Qaeda is proof of this. Is this current conflict not in many ways an officers' rebellion within a single military force? .

We have, however, still seen the deployment of large numbers of ground troops from the Global North. Though whilst their last deployment is a massive operation, and creates the feeling of total war, the soldiers themselves seemed to be put into very little real danger. Their purpose is spectacular, to create the feeling at home that there is a lot on the line. Thus the few soldiers that do die are transformed into heroes and martyrs whose deaths are given a weight and importance that in life the system never gave them.

For us then in Australia (and I suspect the rest of the Global North) our refusal to fight is relatively meaningless as our labor is superfluous to the global war machine. We are unneeded, and thus new ways of struggle, more active insurgencies are needed to destabilize Capital.

## PROTEST AS USUAL

So far the anti-war struggles in Australia have been confined mainly to street demonstrations of varying size. They have been largely organized by social democratic and Leninist groupings, though the political flavor of them is generally liberal: clergy, trade union leaders, and various do-gooders dominate the podium. Originally after the September 11 attacks these demos were a breath of fresh air. They worked to undermine the consensus that “everyone” supported the war, and combated the feelings of isolation felt by the dissenters. Street demos do and will have a place in struggle. They can draw people together and can have an important morale lifting effect. However this only works when the demos take place in the context of larger, more combative militant struggles. In their current context they are proving to be increasingly disempowering, ineffectual and demoralizing. Why is this so?

Demos are in many ways left over from the last great upsurge in struggle. Throughout the 20th century, the working class engaged in long running militant actions: strikes, occupations, pickets, etc. Rallies played a part in this. However since the early '80s the combative elements of struggle have become largely submerged, only to explode out in various direct actions. On the whole though the praxis of the Left focuses on just a strategy of demo after demo.

Generally these demos replicate all that is wrong with mass society. Small groups of “organizers” fight bitterly in meetings over slogans and speakers; groups of “activists” engage in hyperactively paced work to build the rally, such as postering and leafletting in an attempt to get the “masses” to show up. Those who then do show up are asked to follow a strict and regimented path, often marshaled, chant when they are required to chant and listen to speakers. The success of the rally is based on either the number of people who turned up, media coverage, or how many people joined the various left grouplets. They are generally regimented and boring. They seem to mirror the rest of everyday life: being ordered around by our betters.

The essential flaw is that the strategy of demos is based on mediating away the power of people to a different source. The argument goes that through a show of numbers or good copy in the paper, that the rally will convince the relevant authorities to change their mind.

There is a kernel of truth in this in that often the state will worry about the potential of demos to transform into more radical activity and thus change their behavior. On the whole though the demonstration is largely either ridiculed or ignored.

It is incredibly depressing when people go to a rally to protest, say, the increased bombing of Iraq, on numerous occasions and witness that the rally has no effect what-so-ever.

Here a strategy of “protest as usual”, with its regimentation and ineffectuality works to complement the effects of the state: to convince people that they are powerless. Indeed the strategy of rally after rally is now thoroughly exhausted with numbers dwindling after the coalition military victory, and the “leadership” is fracturing as various Leftist sects battle for control and recruits.

This is not the whole picture and occasionally those of us who do turn up have a nice time, make our own networks, or break away from the marshals to take more combative action. In fact, globally more and more people are willing to defy both the State and the embodied statist ideology of the rally organizers. From heckling speakers to fighting the police, a conscious practical

critique of pacifism has exploded onto the world's streets, often to the embarrassment and disgust of the liberals and “cadre” trying to shepherd the multitude.

## MILITANCY AS SELF-MILITARISATION

*How can you celebrate a revolution with a rifle butt?*

- Jacques Camatte

Outside of this, small groups of the multitude, often those that politically identify as “revolutionaries”, are trying (often in vain) to find more effective and potent methods of struggle. This is all happening in a context in Australia, where combative direct action has flared up in the last couple of years. Coupled with this is an increase in state repression and the sophistication and brutality of the cops. Whilst the often boring, rigid, codified and predictable debate between “violence and non-violence” rages, the reality is that on the streets, any attempts to disrupt the circuitry of Capital has to take seriously the issue of confronting and combating the state.

However, some comrades faced with increased state violence have reduced the questions of confronting the state to purely military ones: a question of physical strength and conflict. This is a fundamental mistake. It is a truism that since capitalism is a social system based on violence that any attempt to overthrow it must be prepared to fight. It is also true that the process of insurrection, which often involves physical confrontation, is a crucial part of the upsurge for liberation. However violence in general is not only distasteful, it is brutalizing and the product of class society. The revolt against oppression is a revolt that hopes to remove violence permanently from our lives. The longer violence lingers the more it deforms and twists movements of liberation.

Firstly, it is important to realize that the unleashing of continual global militarization terrorizes people by confronting them with a seemingly endless cycle of violence. Revolutionaries who fetishize violence, who adorn the process of social liberation in the symbols of destruction (guns, hand grenades, etc) can feed this cycle. How can we celebrate the gun? We can celebrate the human in struggle, but not the commodity they use as part of the struggle. Indeed the fetishism of tools of war and thus the devaluation of human life is a continuation of the logic of class society. The question of confronting the violence and power of cyber-industrial civilization is a question of how can we manifest anti-power and anti-violence that can hollow out and topple the state and the market. We should be realistic about the violence inherent in Capital, we should celebrate all revolts of the multitude, but we should not however allow the



necessity of combating the state twist the vision of liberation. If we do, in the current context we extend the terrorizing of social relationships and thus the feelings of powerlessness of the people. Revolution is the weaving together of revolt and dismantling hierarchy, not self-militarization

## TOWARDS FESTIVALS OF REFUSAL

*We can fight it only by showing an equally strong bond of friendship and trust. Differences of habit and language are nothing at all if our aims are identical and our hearts are open.*

- Albus Dumbledore

Stopping war and the revolution against the empire of capital are one and the same. Militarization is a direct challenge to the recent upsurge of proletarian fury and self-activity, and war will always exist whilst class society exists. As a general point then the best way to stop war is to keep on fighting. The multiplicity of revolts – large and small, overt and covert - must keep on going, building, circulating and intertwining. However the broader struggle is difficult, if not impossible unless it faces the challenges of potentially endless militarization.

Two difficult tasks loom: how to construct positive social relationships that allow the opportunity to revolt to manifest; and how to manifest revolts which will allow the construction of positive social relationships. What we need is to actualize revolts of insurgent desire.

If the drive behind militarization is to reinforce the governmentality of the population then the best thing to do is to be as ungovernable as possible. I imagine the only thing that will prevent war and push back militarization is a general wave of disobedience and defiance, a society-wide mutiny that through its own actions makes the continuation of the status quo impossible. This mutiny would have no “leaders” and take countless forms of defiance and non-compliance. Thus no single group or single action can spark it off. However we can make bold strokes that increase the power and strength of the weave of revolt and inspire others to do the same.

Firstly, whilst the “realists” of various social democratic and Leninist groups and the few anarchist rackets desperate to look “hard” may scoff at counter-culture, never has it been more relevant. Never before has dancing and socializing, forming friendships and feelings of autonomy and rebelliousness been so important. To put it another way, the micropolitical revolts and mutations that make up counter-culture begin to pull at the atrophied nature of everyday life and create/ mutate new pathways of living. Here can we see the seed of the future. So go ahead, put on that gig, pirate that CD, write that zine, take those pills and go dancing. (As always I recommend listening to thrash 7 inches – if this can be done from the aircraft carrier you have just squatted, all the better.)

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GREEN ANARCHY #13



# Bring The War Home!

## Actions Against the War Machine

### After vandalism, ROTC drops uniforms

An act of vandalism against a symbol of the U.S. military on the University of Iowa (UI) campus over Spring Break prompted leaders to stop requiring cadets to wear uniforms to class.

Authorities are looking for a person who smashed two glass doors at the Reserve Officer Training Corps office in the South Quadrangle building and spray-painted such slogans as "Stop U.S. military research" and "Fuck all wars" on four other UI buildings between March 20 and 21. The U.S. Army Cadet Command advised military leaders on college campuses to be aware of their surroundings and to avoid public confrontations. According to police reports pigs found the words "Bomb Bush" scrawled in red spray paint on the northwest corner of the IMU and the words "USA = EMPIRE" with peace and anarchy symbols on the north side of the Becker Communication Studies Building.

Patrol guards also located the phrases "Freedom dies when bombs fall" and "Fuck war" in red paint on the exterior of the building. The words "USA: rogue state" also appeared in green paint on the building's electrical station.

### Corporate Icons Brace For Backlash

U.S. corporate icons such as Starbucks Corporation, Coca-Cola Co. and the McDonald's corporation are bracing for trouble and stepping up security since the war in Iraq has stoked anti-American sentiment worldwide and will most likely unleash violence against all emblems of U.S. imperialism. U.S. multinationals, which generate substantial revenues overseas, are boosting plant security, armed guards, increasing staff training and instituting background checks on potential employees and rank-and-file workers like cashiers and drivers, security advisers said. "If you hate America, it's real easy to hate Coke or McDonald's", said Lawrence McNaughlin, who heads CoreBrand, a Connecticut-based brand consulting firm. "The two primary criteria for risk are if you're in business in the Middle East and you're a cultural icon."

### YANKEE GO HOME

Security experts say the most vulnerable sector may be the fast-food industry, led by hamburger despot McDonald's Corp., whose 30,000 worldwide stores with their distinctive Golden Arches are the most recognized symbols of American culture. The company also has a substantial presence in the Middle East. Increased hostility toward America has already led to a few attacks on businesses linked to the U.S. in the Middle East, as well as security alerts in the region. Saudi Arabian youth have firebombed two McDonald's since November. The bombs caused only minimal damage but intensified fears among westerners. At least five American-style fast-food restaurants in Lebanon, including two Pizza Hut branches and a KFC outlet, have been rocked by bomb attacks since last May. In Cairo, Egypt, a recent telephoned bomb threat to Citibank led to the evacuation of a large building off the central square where the offices of several foreign companies are located, such as Microsoft and Hewlett-Packard Co.

**FRANKFURT, Germany** - Anti-war demonstrators clashed with police outside the U.S. consulate in Hamburg and peace rallies emptied schools across Italy in a fresh swell of protests against the war in Iraq. Hamburg police turned water cannons on protesters, including middle and high school students, outside the U.S. consulate in the northern port city. Police said a group of Palestinians and Kurds armed with wooden sticks, stones and bottles joined about 8,000 students who had been protesting peacefully outside of the building, and then began attacking pigs.

*"Tomorrow, we must immediately take the war to the enemy, leave him no rest, harassing him, cutting off his breath."*

- Frantz Fanon

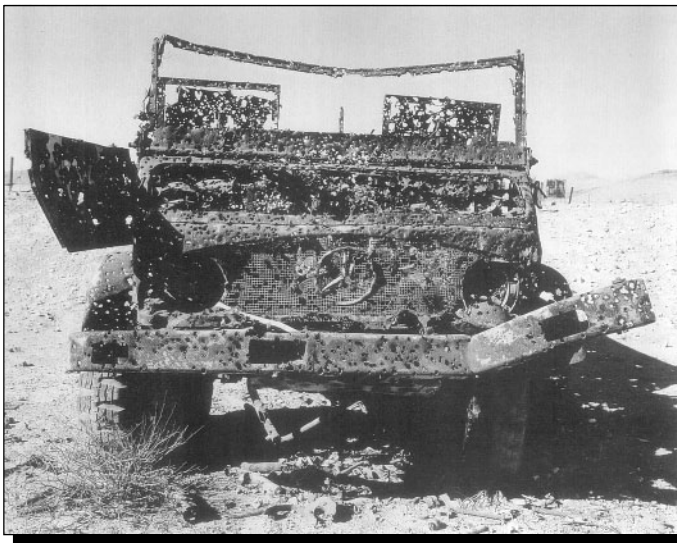
### Chile: Bomb Attack Against Bank

**Santiago:** A small bomb exploded after hours at a Santiago branch of the U.S.-based BankBoston, in what is believed to be a protest against the U.S.-led war in Iraq. The bomb, which exploded outside the bank at around 11p.m., smashed windows and destroyed an automatic cash machine as well as causing minor damage to two adjacent stores. There were no injuries. A spokesman said police found a pamphlet at the site that said "death to the empire," which he took as a reference to the United States. Nobody claimed responsibility for the attack. A smaller explosive that caused no damage was planted last weekend at the same BankBoston branch. A recent opinion poll revealed that 98 percent of Chileans opposed U.S. military action in Iraq.

### March 17, New Jersey: Communiqué From The Direct Action Front

**Edison:** The following is from a communiqué that was released on the internet by the **Direct Action Front**: "It has been announced by the U.S. government that a unilateral invasion of Iraq will begin on Wednesday at 8pm. This is 48 hours from the time that the ultimatum was communicated to the public through the corporate media. In response to this, the Armed Forces Recruiting Center on Old Post Road in Edison, NJ was the target of direct action. The intent was to cause as much economic damage as possible. Specifically it was intended to increase the costs to pursue the invasion and to eliminate another piece of the American military-industrial complex. The front door was shattered and the inside was methodically destroyed. Front displays were damaged, propaganda was scattered, and marine

U.S. Special Operations and CIA forces have been working inside Iraq to foment unrest and help lay the groundwork for an invasion. A constant bombardment of propaganda from the U.S. military has also been underway. 240,000 leaflets have been dropped around Iraq, threatening Iraqis that if U.S. and British troops were fired upon that it would lead to more severe bombing. Also, bombing has been continuous throughout the past 13 years. It has devastated Iraq's infrastructure, leading



to widespread malnutrition and disease. Every humanitarian and research organization from Oxfam to Middle East Research Project predicts a catastrophic humanitarian disaster for Iraqi citizens when there is an invasion. Who is paying for this invasion? The amount of resources necessary to conduct an invasion of this sort have been subsidized from the American public, and the corporate media has made every effort to be sure that the debate is kept closed. As the military build-up around Iraq has been underway, the unemployment rate in the U.S. reached the highest it has been

in 9 years. The U.S. still scores last amongst all industrialized nations in health care, according to the World Health Organization. This year, every city government in America, for the first time in history, reported an increase in hunger at the U.S. Conference of Mayors. All the while, the Bush administration continues to push for the ending of taxes on stock dividends which is estimated to give investors \$364 billion dollars over 10 years. The public is paying for the invasion, while elites cash in on it. Make no mistake about the endless deceptive language from Washington. They are not talking about

starting a war, despite all the rhetorical rantings. A war has been raging between the U.S. and Iraq for the past 14 years. Since the Iraqi military's retreat from Kuwait, there has been a continuous bombardment on water sanitation systems and factories by U.S. forces. Operation Desert Fox went completely unnoticed as the U.S. corporate media offered the public sensational stories about the OJ Simpson trial. Washington is not starting a war. Washington is starting an invasion. They are trying to mobilize the American public to support the escalation of aggressive military policies. There was never any regard from Washington for international democracy. In November, MSNBC, subsidiary of General Electric (the second largest contractor to the Pentagon), announced that the Pentagon had approved invasion plans. At the beginning of December, senior officials in the White House said that "war is inevitable."

On the UN Security Council, the U.S. delegates have always supported the most ruthless and draconian measures against civilian populations. It spearheaded a resolution in December that banned the importation of pharmaceutical drugs into Iraq. When issues of Washington's own accountability are in question, it abstains or uses its veto power as was done with the Kyoto Agreement and with the reparation debate in South Africa. Washington has been intent on invading Iraq for many months now,

and it is illustrated by its actions. The evidence is overwhelming: the U.S. government... is prepared to potentially murder millions of Iraqis to extend its hegemony over the oil-rich Middle East region. As Americans, they expect us to simply watch TV and "endure" any desperate attacks against US interests. They expect us to be bystanders and pawns of a government that is prepared to throw the world into a massive war. We are calling upon all Americans to act upon their responsibilities and hold this government accountable for its crimes against humanity. We call upon all humane, reasonable and sane voices... to take any means

necessary to prevent this humanitarian disaster from happening. If profit is their motive, then make it unprofitable. If passive consumption is what they want, then actively dissent. If they want you to participate in the slaughter, then refuse... Our imperial government may try as much as it wants, but history shows that humanity will always endure and continue the struggle for a better world. Onward to social revolution!

**In solidarity, The Direct Action Front"**

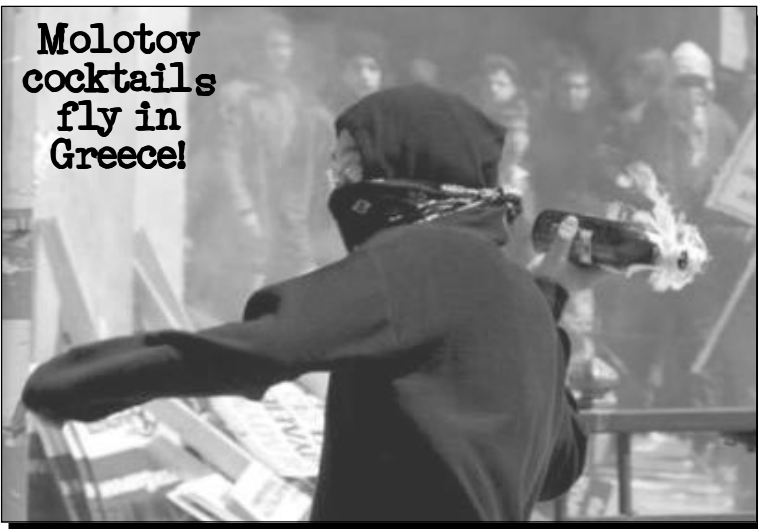
### March 20, Minnesota: Recruiting Center Hit By Anti-Imperialists

**Minneapolis:** The following is a communiqué that was sent out over the internet: On the Night of March 20th opponents of the U.S. war on Iraq hit the Stadium Village Army Navy Recruiting Center in Minneapolis. Locks were glued, paint bombs thrown and windows broken. This is not about some abstract concept of peace, this is about stopping U.S. imperialism. Polite protest has not worked. It is time we intervene directly. There are rocks everywhere and the week has seven nights.

### March 21, Greece: Anarchists Go On The Offensive

**Athens:** The demo started at about 1pm, and it is said that 200,000 participated. Anarchists, antiauthoritarians, autonomists, and youth who gathered behind a banner saying "War To The War Of The Bosses" were numbered at 800-1000 persons. In front of the French embassy, the police guards' house and surveillance cameras got smashed. An attack was also made against the Italian embassy, where stones and Molotov cocktails managed to land over the high fence. The Portuguese embassy got some stones too. After that, there was a strike against the Ministry of Internal Affairs with Molotov cocktails and stones. In front of "Evangelismos" hospital, a group of demonstrators attacked the riot cops with Molotov cocktails and other objects. Somewhere around Hilton hotel, the black bloc split in small groups, marching towards the U.S. embassy among the rest of the demo. The U.S. embassy was the main target for the biggest part of the demonstrators. During all the hours that the demo was taking place, people, especially the youth, who were passing in front of the building, were throwing rotten oranges, eggs, red paint and stones at them.

**Molotov cocktails fly in Greece!**



recruitment pictures were smashed. We consider this to be an appropriate response from the American public to stop the inevitable invasion. Time is running short, and everything possible must be done to stop our government's race to war. Approximately 230,000 U.S. and British troops are now surrounding Iraq and are prepared to unleash a full-scale assault and invasion of Iraqi soil. It is certain that many young American and British troops will die in the fighting. There is also a great chance of American civilian casualties. An invasion of Iraq will help escalate conditions that will lead to more violent attacks similar to those of September 11th. By bombing Iraq, there will also be a great number of Iraqi casualties. Already, UNICEF has estimated that 1.7 million Iraqis have died as direct result of imposed sanctions. Inhumane and manipulative steps have already been taken against the Iraqi people by Washington in the months during the build up.

The vans and the cops were covered with paint and eggs! On the street next to the embassy a bank was set on fire. In the street between the Hall and the embassy there were massive clashes between demonstrators against cops. Many people participated in the fighting because they were enraged about the war, the riot police and the suffocating teargas. Protestors were using everything they could find to fight the cops: wooden sticks, bottles, and stones taken from the pavements, rotten fruit, and Molotov cocktails. After many objects were thrown at them, the cops started running back and were saved from a general retreat only when other squads came from inside the park to support them. More clashes followed, with groups of demonstrators throwing stones from all directions at the police. A retreating group of about 100 people reached the War Museum and set fire to some military airplanes exposed in the yard of the Museum, and afterwards attacked the building that houses the State Radio-Television (ERT).

**Other March 21 Actions:**

**In Portland, Oregon,** protesters smashed in three windows at a McDonald's, set flags on fire and sprayed graffiti on a sign at a Shell gas station. More than 100 people were arrested. "I like the idea of shutting down commerce and the city to counteract Bush's economic motives for this war," one young demonstrator told the press.

**In Chicago, Illinois,** several thousand marchers snarled afternoon rush-hour traffic along the city's main arteries, repeatedly breaking through lines of police on horseback or in riot gear.

**March 23, Kuwait: Soldier Held After Grenade Attack**

**Camp New Jersey:**

Thirteen soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division were wounded by a hand grenade that was thrown into the 1st Brigade technical operations center at Camp Pennsylvania in central Kuwait. A U.S. soldier assigned to the brigade is in custody. According to preliminary reports, the attack occurred at 1:21 am and involved a grenade and some gunfire. Three soldiers were evacuated to the 86th Combat Support Hospital at Udairi in northern Kuwait and seven were evacuated to the 47th Combat Support Hospital in Southern Kuwait. Details of the attack on the operations center, which is in a closely confined tent and usually manned by a couple dozen staff officers, were sketchy.



**March 25, Ecuador: Grenade Attack On British Consulate**

A grenade was thrown at Britain's honorary consulate. The honorary consul in Guayaquil, Colin Armstrong, told local television station Ecuavisa he thought the attack could be a protest against the war in Iraq. No one was hurt in the attack, and the grenade did little damage. In what appears to be another anti-war protest in Lebanon, a small explosion damaged the outer wall of the British Council building. The explosion in Ecuador shattered windows on the ground floor of the building. Police General Edgar Vaca told the Associated Press news agency that a group called the People's Revolutionary Militias had claimed responsibility for the attack in an e-mail. The e-mail condemned the United States and Britain for attacking Iraq. Since August, the group has exploded three small bombs, including one in the capital, Quito. In prior attacks, the group has scattered leaflets urging Ecuadorians not to vote in elections last year and later criticizing President Lucio Gutierrez for launching economic austerity measures. Security sources in Beirut said an unknown assailant threw a stick of dynamite at Britain's cultural center after the office closed for the night.

**March 26, Spain: Anti-War Riots Spread Across Country**

Tens of thousands of students protested across Spain, demanding the government's resignation and calling for a halt to the U.S.-led war on Iraq. Pockets of militant protesters throwing stones and bottles clashed with baton-wielding riot police in Madrid, Barcelona and Zaragoza. In Barcelona, masked demonstrators smashed the windows of a McDonald's fast-food restaurant and a department store.

**March 26, Italy: US Military Vehicles Firebombed In Anti-War Protest**

Italian police say at least two vehicles belonging to American military personnel have been firebombed near U.S. bases in northern Italy. Authorities say the cars, with license plates identifying them as belonging to Allied Forces Italy, were set on fire. No one was injured. The vehicles were parked on the street about one kilometer from the U.S. base at Vicenza. The base is home to the Southern European Task Force. A third vehicle was torched near the U.S. airbase at Aviano. Authorities say they believe the attacks were protests against the U.S.-led war in Iraq. It's clear from this level of resistance that fear has begun to enter into the heart of capitalism, which is not the unassailable Moloch that its techno-bureaucrats pretend. The historical moment is serious; the social war paws the ground and the agents of repression seek to pursue and exterminate all rebels. We need to keep hammering away at the power structure while being careful to avoid the snares of hierarchy, bureaucratization and the specialization of roles within our own movement. Because the revolutionary movement must know how to overcome the cage of spectacular

rot imposed by power, in order to encourage widespread conflict everywhere in daily life where reification smothers revolt. Actions like these can be carried out by almost anyone, anonymously and autonomously, and help to keep our struggle leaderless.

**Anti-War Hacking Rises Sharply**

More than 20,000 websites have been hacked since the war on Iraq began, according to one security firm. UK security firm F-Secure has seen a dramatic rise in the number of hack attacks since the conflict started. In the first few days of the conflict there

was a flurry of attempts to access vulnerabilities on websites such as that of the U.S. Navy. Defacements from pro-Islamic hacking groups suggested that it was the beginning of a new era of cyber hacking. Now it seems that the hackers are getting closer to sensitive targets with both the White House and Number 10 websites suffering attacks according to F-Secure. "More and more people are joining in the fray," said General Manager of F-Secure, Jason Holloway. "The majority of the messages are still anti-war," he added. Qatar-based TV station Al-Jazeera has reported that a denial-of-service attack could have been conducted on its website. The attack has not been confirmed and could just be due to a large weight of traffic. Al-Jazeera has now launched an English-language version of its website which has also suffered outages. This conflict has seen a new breed of hacktivist, in the shape of pro-peace campaigners who have been joining pro-Islamic hackers and pro-American groups in expressing their grievances online. Political tensions around the globe are often mirrored in cyberspace. Increased tensions in the Middle East and between Pakistan and India have all been used by so-called hacktivists to launch web defacements and denial of service attacks. Three Iraq war-related computer viruses, including the Ganda worm, have also been spotted by F-Secure, although the damage done by these has been limited.

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**ZERO WAR – TOTAL LIBERATION**

. . . continued from page 9



If the move to militarization works to secure the rule of Capital, by subjecting the world to a global war machine and by further atomizing personal relationships, we can fight back by both monkey-wrenching nodes of the machinery and simultaneously beginning to re/form a community of struggle. To me the task then is to begin to pick our own battles, select sites of military power and attack them in ways that both work to halt their operation and simultaneously bring new ways of living into being. These acts in themselves may not be enough, but in concert with other autonomous activities they may just begin to open the door to rebellions that can dig the grave for Empire.

**POST-SCRIPT**

As the cameras turn away from the rubble of Baghdad the official voices of adjudication have declared the war a "victory". Those on the Right triumphantly proclaim the vindication of the U.S. Administration and laud the prospects for freedom and democracy. Those on the Left rub their hands and worry that this victory signals the return of imperialism and a defeat for freedom and democracy. Both sides only see the clash as one between two nations states and equate victory with the Coalition's triumph over the Baathists. But this war was not about a clash between two states as much as it was about securing the entire global order of states. There was no doubt that the Coalition's armed forces were going to easily smash the Iraqi army. The entire war was about securing the continuing reign of global capital in a time where the entire order is increasing divided and bankrupt.

If there was a central goal, it was the unleashing of "shock and awe" (militarily and ideologically) to terrorize the global multitude and thus re-enforce our obedience. Did it work? Just like the last Gulf War, huge sections of the Iraq army deserted. In other words they refused the basic lie of nation states: that we should lay down our lives for them. If anything, this act of mass defiance rather than signaling the end of rebellion amongst the oil proletariat is testament to their continuing ungovernability and self-organisation.

Waves of mass defiance also swept the globe. Whilst often the mass rallies were liberal in tone and passive in nature, increasingly large sections of them challenged the authority of both the state and the official organizers. In Sydney, Australia, student anti-war rallies defied their Leninist marshals and were transformed into combinations of roving festivals and direct confrontations with the police. Young people of mainly Islamic and Middle-Eastern backgrounds rebelled against the extra policing that they had subjected them to and exhibited a great willingness to directly fight the state. At the demonstrations in Canberra, speakers were heckled, people refused to follow the established march roots and eventual a group marched on parliament house confronting the police there. Graffiti and other forms of low level property damage (include writing "NO WAR" in gigantic letters on the Sydney Opera House) are widespread. So much so the in Wollongong, the Returned Services League has had to organize vigilante groups to protect war memorials.

These are just examples of a global rebellion. It is this rebellion that was so worrying Chirac and Schroeder. Europe's original "opposition" to the war was not based on any commitment to political liberalism, but rather was an attempt to marshal old liberal and social democratic ideologies to fend off revolt. What the French state realized is still plain to see (if you look through the digital-smoke of the simulacrum): that the global order of capital can not create a harmonious mode of operation in the face of continuing revolt. The so-called victory has not stopped this revolt. If anything it has deepened it further by chipping away the consensus and compliance that civilization requires for normal operation. The response to this will be of course be more militarisation: more surveillance, more police, more violence, more terror. So much so that protesters attempting to interfere with the running of a detention center in the South Australian desert faced a raid by police armed with machine guns. This was the first time in recent memory that this has happened.

Will increased direct state repression and a neo-conservative political culture of unfreedom secure a future for the cyber-industrial civilization of Capital? The confusion we are faced with is the weave of oppression and resistance. We refuse the rule of Capital, but we are inside Capital and in many ways it is in us; thus living resistance to civilization is a blur of hope and despair. However, if anything the war shows that capitalism cannot reach its own totalitarian fantasies: often attempts to govern work to strip away at the governmentality of the people. New waves of proletarianisation, of social control may defeat struggles here and there, but they move on, grow and erupt elsewhere. Pertinent question remain, liberation may not be inevitable. However for all the bluster it seems at this point that even in the face of smart bombs, embedded journalists and Saving Private Lynch, the multitude will not be terrorized.

<sup>1</sup> Seppo is a WWII era piece of rhyming slang for Americans. Yanks = Septic Tanks = Seppos.  
<sup>2</sup> Zerzan, J. "Origins and Meaning of WWT" in *Elements of Refusal*. Columbia Missouri, C.A.L. Press 1999 pp 145-165.  
<sup>3</sup> Hardt M. & Negri A. *Empire*. Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 2001 p23-24.

For more analysis on the war-machine, and ideas on resistance to it, send \$1 to **Green Anarchy** for a short pamphlet entitled, "the war machine continues"



Although no one any longer tends the temples of Mars, the Roman god of war, his faithful are still arranged in crisp battalions.





**March 27, Mob storms KFC as anti-war protests sweep country**

**Tripoli:** At least ten people were injured following clashes between Internal Security Forces (ISF) and demonstrators who tried to storm a KFC restaurant. In Tripoli and other major cities across the country, students from both public and private schools and universities left their classes around noon to participate in demonstrations against the war in Iraq - more than 40,000 participated in Tripoli, converging from different destinations. A couple of hundred participants left the demonstration and marched toward a KFC outlet on the Bahsas boulevard and started throwing stones at it. ISF personnel intervened, shooting in the air to disperse the crowd.

**March 28, Italy: Ford Cars Torched In Protest Against The War**

**Rome:** A dozen cars at a Ford dealership on the outskirts of the city were set on fire, and a banner reading "Sabotage the imperialist war" was hung on the gate of the lot.

**March 29, Greece: Greeks Continue To Up The Ante**

**Athens:** Some 15,000 demonstrators chanting "we'll stop the war" marched to the American embassy in central Athens. Protesters splashed red paint on the road outside the embassy building and onto the front windows of a McDonalds restaurant. Earlier that day, another McDonalds restaurant was damaged in a grenade attack after closing hours in an Athens suburb. No one was hurt and there was no immediate claim of responsibility. Authorities have tightened security at potential targets in the Greek capital after a spate of arson attacks against U.S. banks and other businesses since the war began.

**April 1, Washington: Recruitment Center Attacked**

**Bellingham:** The following communiqué was released anonymously over the internet: *On the night that the dictator of the USA escalated its war against the citizenry of Iraq, an anonymous individual threw a rock through the front plate glass door of the military recruitment center in Bellingham, WA. No humans or animals were hurt in this attack. The U.S. military has waged continuous wars on the peoples of this world for long enough. Everything must be done to stop Leviathan.*

**April 10, Oregon: Marine's Flag Burned**

**Eugene:** After an energetic march through town, the U.S. flag was taken down from in front of the Marine Reserve Building and burned, much to the horror of a few patriotic assholes.

**April 26, Iraq: Stone-throwing children put troops on edge**

**MOSUL** - The love affair between U.S. troops and Iraqi children is turning sour. As the invading troops pushed north towards Baghdad in the first weeks of the war, it was always the children in every town that came out first to smile, wave, give the thumbs-up and shout the same greeting: "Good, good, good!" Happy to see a friendly face, the soldiers waved back and many handed out candies from their field rations.

But more and more of the encounters ending with some children, usually the older ones in their early teens, hurling stones at the soldiers.

It can be a Catch-22 situation for the troops. If they let the children swarm around them, they expose themselves to possible attack from adults who can use the cover to get close and throw in a hand grenade.

But if they push them back, it hurts their efforts to win over the civilian population, and can spark the stone throwing.

"It's frustrating. They're like little gnats that you can't get away from," said Captain James McGahey, a company commander of the 101st Airborne Division who says almost every one of the patrols he sends out in the northern city of Mosul gets stoned.

**RAINING STONES**

In one typical incident, a group of soldiers on foot patrol attracted an ever-increasing posse of children as they moved past a local fire station and on through a rough neighborhood of Mosul.

By the time they reached a school building, at least 200 children and a small group of adults were around them, and the stones came raining in from about a dozen of the older kids.

"They were throwing them like they were pitching a baseball," said Sgt John McLean, who was hit on the helmet, in the back and on the heel.

The troops pulled away and took up a defensive position but even then the children and adults only dispersed when

a warning shot was fired over their heads.

The problem is not confined to Mosul. Crowds of 250-300 Iraqi teenagers hurled stones at U.S. Marines patrolling the holy city of Najaf in southern Iraq. In many other Iraqi towns and cities, there were similar activities.

**April 16, Greece: Petrol Bombs And Tear Gas Punctuate Anti-War March**

An anti-war protest in police-thronged central Athens exploded into extensive rioting as hooded youths threw petrol bombs and stones at riot police forces and vandalized shops and banks. As hooded anarchists started throwing Molotov cocktails and stones at the cops who were monitoring the demonstration (prompting a massive tear gas barrage),

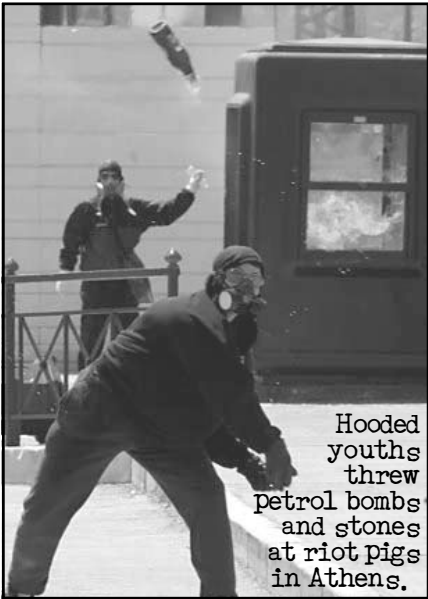
other marchers tried to break through a riot police cordon sealing off the northern end of Syntagma Square in an attempt to stop demonstrators from approaching Zappeion Hall, where visiting EU politicians were assembled. Demonstrators were angry about the presence, in the Greek capital, of the premiers of Britain and Spain, who backed the U.S.-led attack on Iraq. The march moved on towards the U.S. Embassy, but at several points along the route anarchists attacked police, who responded with more tear gas. Eight pigs, one journalist and a cameraman were injured during the riots as anarchist insurgents (many of whom wore gas masks to handle the copious amounts of tear gas the pigs were dishing out) threw petrol bombs, smashed bank and shop windows and burned down bus stops. Eighty-four suspects were arrested following the rioting; many face criminal charges of causing explosions and possession of explosives, as well as the misdemeanors of damaging foreign property, resisting arrest and "breach of the peace". That night, arsonists poured petrol over a police jeep and set it on fire in the southern suburb of Glyfada, severely damaging the vehicle.

**April 23, Vancouver: Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment Center Attacked**

**"ACT 1**  
*We, the Anti-PROPERTY committee of Vancouver claim the responsibility of the several broken windows at the Canadian armed force recruiting center on Georgia Street (1070 West Georgia St.) , Vancouver.*

*Canadian troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan! No to sending RCMP or Canadian troops to Iraq. End the occupation of Iraq! Who's next?"*

*"Decolonization is always a violent phenomenon . . . The naked truth of decolonization evokes for us searing bullets and bloodstained knives which emanate from it."*  
**- Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth**



# On The Decomposition of Our Enemies!

## Unleashed Passions, The Delirious Taste of Revenge, and Further Symptoms of State Meltdown

**Every Social Conflict is the arena for three mutually antagonistic forces: the Establishment, the opposition which seeks to overthrow the existing Order and replace it with one of its own, and the tendency towards increased Social Entropy, which all Social Conflict engenders, and which, in this context, may be thought of as the force of Chaos."**  
**- Gregor Markowitz, The Theory of Social Entropy**

**April 1, Italy: Bomb Placed Outside IBM Headquarters**

**Rome**—The Italian police allege that they disabled a crude bomb placed outside the Italian headquarters of IBM in the northern city of Bologna. The device, which police said contained an unidentified black powder and a fuse, had apparently been timed to explode outside the American Computer Company during the previous night. "It was put there to do harm," said Romano Argerio, the pig chief of Bologna.

**April 7, Oregon: Bomb Threat - Courthouse Evacuated**

**Grants Pass**—The Josephine County Courthouse was evacuated in the morning after a man phoned the Circuit Court and said there was a bomb inside the building. The unidentified caller announced during the 10:18 a.m. phone call that a bomb would go off "in 45 minutes." County Commissioner Harold Haugen said it was the second time this year the courthouse had to be evacuated because of a bomb threat. A similar incident also occurred in January. A deputy pig investigating the incident said that the receptionist who took the phone call when the threat was made said the caller's voice was similar to that of a man who phoned earlier that morning and asked to have his sentencing date rescheduled.

**April 26, Kenya: Students Riot and Take Pig Hostage**

University of Nairobi students went on the rampage, stoning vehicles and destroying property. They were protesting against

a decision by their Vice Chancellor to send home all students pursuing a degree in Nursing. Police said one of their colleagues sent to help quell the rioting was missing and they suspected the students had abducted him. The angry students threatened to transform the students' union into a political party if the ministry did not increase their loans.

**April 19, Italy: Golden Arches Go Up In Flames!**

**Sargegna Island**—During the night a bomb exploded inside a McDonalds' restaurant in the town of Oristano.

**Chinese Villagers Riot Over Plan for SARS Quarantine Center**

**Chagugang, China** - Some 2,000 villagers torched a school building earmarked as a SARS quarantine center and ransacked government offices in China's first reported instance of social unrest related to SARS. The mayhem in Chagugang town, a rural settlement 90 minutes southeast of Beijing, happened Sunday night after the government in nearby Tinajin city decided to convert a school into an isolation facility for urban people suspected of having contact with SARS patients. About 2,000 angry residents marched to the

school and ransacked it, smashing windows before setting it alight, highlighting growing tensions over the draconian measures China is taking to bring SARS under control.

"They went to the school and burned the school. It can't be used any longer," a local "official" said. "Then they went to the local education office and smashed it to pieces. Then they went to the town government office and smashed the whole building, breaking windows, removing doors and throwing them out of the windows. "They broke in and smashed everything, overturned vehicles. All facilities are out of use now."

The official said armed police and anti-riot forces arrived but by that time the villagers had run away.

"Today it is okay but at that time the situation was very serious," said the official, who estimated the crowd was 2,000-strong but that only a core of 30 to 40 people took part in the destruction.

"The rest cheered them on," he said. Residents showed no remorse, voicing outrage that the government claimed to be trying to stop SARS spreading to the countryside, but at the same time wanted to send urban suspect cases to their township.

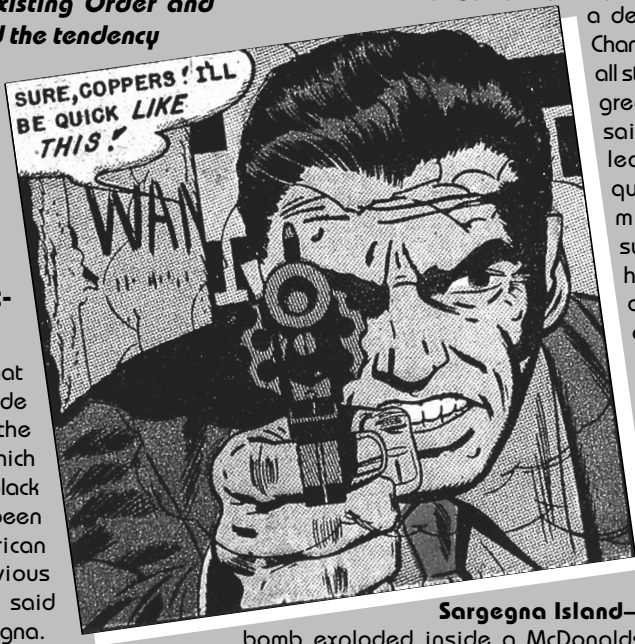
**May 2-9, Mediterranean Europe: Various Acts of Sabotage**

On May 2<sup>nd</sup>, a large group of North African immigrants destroyed the dining room of the San Foca detention center in Lecce, Italy, to protest the imminent notification of deportation orders. The rebels threw pots and chairs at police and military officers and 8 pigs ended up in the hospital.

On May 8<sup>th</sup>, a cellphone tower in Casciana Terme, Italy, was set on fire.

On May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2 automatic tellers of the Caja Madrid Bank and one teller of the Zaragoza Bank were attacked in Barcelona, Spain. The windows of one branch of the BBUA bank were smashed. Some telephone booths were also damaged.

**Send us your local symptoms of state meltdown, or anything else you find in the news!**



# For How Much Longer Will We Tolerate Mass Murder?

**Anarchist, Anti-Capitalist, and Anti-Imperialist Battles From All Over This War-Torn Planet**

**'THE REVOLUTION WHICH IS BEGINNING WILL CALL IN QUESTION NOT ONLY CAPITALIST SOCIETY BUT INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. THE CONSUMER SOCIETY IS BOUND FOR A VIOLENT DEATH. SOCIAL ALIENATION MUST VANISH FROM HISTORY. WE ARE INVENTING A NEW AND ORIGINAL WORLD. IMAGINATION IS SEIZING POWER.'**

- POSTER FROM THE SORBONNE, PARIS, MAY 1968

## April 16, 2003: Banks Burn In Nighttime Attack!

**Buenos Aires, Argentina** - During the night the armored glass windows of a branch of the Banco Francés were cracked and the bank was attacked with flammable devices. The fire from the hall entrance destroyed the automatic teller of the bank. **For more information check out: [www.guerrasociale.org](http://www.guerrasociale.org)**

## April 29: Striking Nigerian Workers Take Hostages

**Lagos, Nigeria** - Striking Nigerian oil workers have taken about 100 foreign workers hostage on several offshore oil installations, including 21 Americans. The strikers have been holding 97 foreign workers, including 35 Britons, aboard four offshore drilling rigs owned by Houston-based Transocean since April 19. The events occurred in a remote area off the West African nation's coastline. Fighting in March shut down nearly 40 percent of Nigeria's production of 2.2 million barrels a day. Nigeria is one of the world's largest oil exporters and the fifth largest producer of U.S. oil imports.

## May 20, Arizona: School Property Trashed

Vandals slashed the tires on all but seven of the 59 buses owned by Apache Junction Unified Schools and glued shut keyholes on a handful of classroom doorknobs at the high school in the early morning. Staff members made the first discovery around 5 a.m. at the district transportation yard. One or both tires on the front ends of 52 buses were flattened. Special education and kindergarten buses were left intact. Dozens of maintenance workers scrambled to repair tires with help from city- and county-loaned generators and compressors. The first tier of buses was on the road 30 to 45 minutes behind schedule. The second tier was about 10 minutes late. About 79 percent of the district's 5,500 students are bused to school. About "six or seven" classroom doors were "crazy glued" at Apache Junction High School. The keyholes were repaired before students arrived on campus. The school is planning to beef up security for the final two days of the school year.

**"Let me state it in terms you can understand. The natural tendency in the physical realm is toward ever-increasing randomness or disorder, what we call Chaos or entropy. So too, in the realm of human culture. To locally and temporarily reverse the trend towards entropy in the physical realm requires energy. And so too in human societies — Social Energy. The more Ordered, thus unnatural and anti-entropic, a society, the more Social Energy is required to maintain the unnatural condition. And how is this Social Energy to be obtained? Why, by so ordering the society to produce it! Which, as you can see, requires more Order in return. Which creates a demand for more Social Energy, and so forth, in a geometric progression that spirals as long as the society attempts to achieve Order. You see the paradox, do you not? The more Ordered a society becomes, the more Ordered it must become to maintain its original Order, requiring still more Social Energy, and never really catching up. Thus a society can tolerate less and less randomness as it grows ever more Ordered."**

- Gregor Markowitz, *The Theory of Social Entropy*

## MAY 1: World Marks May Day, Violence Flares in Berlin

**Berlin** - German riot police clashed with rock-throwing demonstrators in Berlin and violence was expected in other European capitals at rallies marking the May Day holiday. Hundreds of thousands of workers and protesters took part in largely peaceful May Day rallies round the world, though scuffles were reported and some demonstrations on the public holiday included criticism of the U.S.-led war on Iraq. Berlin police were out in force, with some 7,500 on city streets braced for battles with anarchists after 27 police officers and an unknown number of assailants and bystanders were injured in three hours of clashes overnight. The violence erupted without warning toward the end of a peaceful protest by about 4,000 people in the Mauerpark, in the Prenzlauer Berg district where the Berlin Wall stood.

A group of 200 anarchists hurled bottles and rocks and shot fireworks at police, who charged the group, arresting 97 of them. Violence in the area lasted three hours, with street barricades set ablaze and some shop windows smashed.

The German capital has been marred by May Day clashes between anarchists and police every year since 1987. Last year rampaging youths caused extensive damage, setting luxury cars and bus shelters on fire.

In London, radical anti-capitalist activists had a hit list of more than 50 "companies of mass destruction" in their sights in protests that police feared could turn violent.

Anarchist groups published the names and addresses of the establishments — oil companies,

arms manufacturers, banks and multinationals — on various Internet sites. Two years ago, in the most extreme May Day violence in Britain of recent times, masked protesters rioted in London, defacing the Cenotaph war memorial, trashing a shop and burning cars.



**Switzerland** - On May Day, Police in Berne used water cannon to keep some 300 demonstrators from entering a government-controlled weapons company. The protesters were calling for a ban on arms exports from neutral Switzerland.

## May 24, Afghans Protest Shootings At US Embassy

**Kabul** - Angry Afghan demonstrators hurled stones at the U.S. Embassy to protest the shooting deaths of three Afghan soldiers by U.S. Marines outside the heavily guarded compound. Carrying banners saying, "Death to America, Death to (President Hamid) Karzai," about 80 protesters marched

through downtown for several hours. On a street near the embassy, they threw rocks at several passing vehicles belonging to the 5,000-strong international peacekeeping force that patrols the city, shattering windows in at least two of them. One "peacekeeper"

was treated at a hospital for slight wounds and then released, said Lt. Col. Paul Kolken, a Dutch spokesman for the multinational force. "Why are Americans killing us inside our home, inside Afghanistan?" said Gul Ahmad, a 20-year-old taking part in the protest. As stones were lobbed at the U.S. embassy's large main gate, U.S. Marines stood in a fenced guard tower, speaking into walkie-talkies. Afghan officials have called the shootout a mistake, saying Afghan soldiers at a military intelligence compound were loading or unloading weapons from a vehicle across the street from the embassy when U.S. guards believed they were about to come under attack and opened fire. Two Afghans also were wounded. International peacekeepers have given another version of events, saying Afghan troops may have fired on a passing car — perhaps

because it failed to stop at a checkpoint. The Afghan soldiers' bullets were fired toward the U.S. Marine guards, who mistook it for an attack and returned fire, they said. The following day, Afghan and U.S. authorities said the shootout would not undermine relations between the two countries. There have been few signs of serious tension between the United States and its Afghan allies since American forces were deployed in the country after ousting the Taliban regime in 2001. America is the primary military backer of President Hamid Karzai's government. About 11,500 coalition soldiers, including 8,500 Americans, are in the country to preserve the Karzai government.

A specter has returned to roam the Earth. After endless years of a social peace composed of exploitation, alienation, misery and suffering, the rage of the oppressed returns at last to the streets to serve the death sentence to a social organization incompatible with humankind and the planet. The triumphalism that accompanied the spectacle of mercantile abundance at its dawn is finished, and all that is left is a world that is going to the dogs on all fronts, with a caste of functionaries to govern its agony. They don't tell us that we are in the best of all possible worlds anymore—because that would be ridiculous—but simply that no one else is now capable of running such a battered planet. After having destroyed every form of community and sterilized all human relationships, after having expropriated all of our awareness and know-how, after having transformed us into appendages of an infernal and incomprehensible technological apparatus that are incapable of interacting with nature, our own bodies and other individuals of our species, they tell us that all that remains to us at this point is to trust our fate and the fate of the planet to technology (that is, to Capital) to resolve an emergency that we can neither understand nor, much less, confront. This is what is meant by the affirmation that "History is finished", which really means nothing more than that we must bow our heads and obey; otherwise, the truncheon falls.

Time and time again, the general crisis of existence is passed off as crises of particular sectors, disconnected from the totality of industrial production and its basic contradictions. The unavoidable consequences of a mode of production that is structurally polluting, poisonous and productive of only imbalances are made to pass for temporary incidents caused by poor management that demand corrective interventions by the State. It is needless to say that, since such "adjustments" are themselves the harbingers of new calamities, they will render further technological-beuracrat "remedies" necessary, which becomes a business called "reconstruction", "regulation", and "reclamation". Not being able to produce anything good, capitalism reproduces itself by living off its trash (the material as well as the ideological trash) and involving everyone in sharing its disastrous responsibility.

In such a scenario, where all human relations, social activities, and the times and spaces of life are oppressively contaminated by separation and isolation, any opposition that is not moved by a hostility against the industrial way of life will only be a contribution to Capital, helping to keep it up to date. The supposed autonomy of a civil society that would control the choices of power, guarantee a greater "democracy" and impose rules, laws and precautions, is the ultimate ideological lie formulated to "democratically"

## The Anarchists Song: —to all men of power

we are kept in poverty and ignorance  
by the projection of your fear,  
of your greed for power.  
We are kept in terror and confusion  
By your protection racket politics,  
By your nursery rhyme propaganda.

But slowly, like a crystal forming,  
Self-awareness liberates our minds,  
Cell by cell, person by person,  
Until we are truly free,  
Until we are truly human beings,  
Separate yet united in mutual trust;

Your awkward puppets shall dance no more,  
And you, the puppet masters will vanish  
Into the shadows of our fulfilled dream.

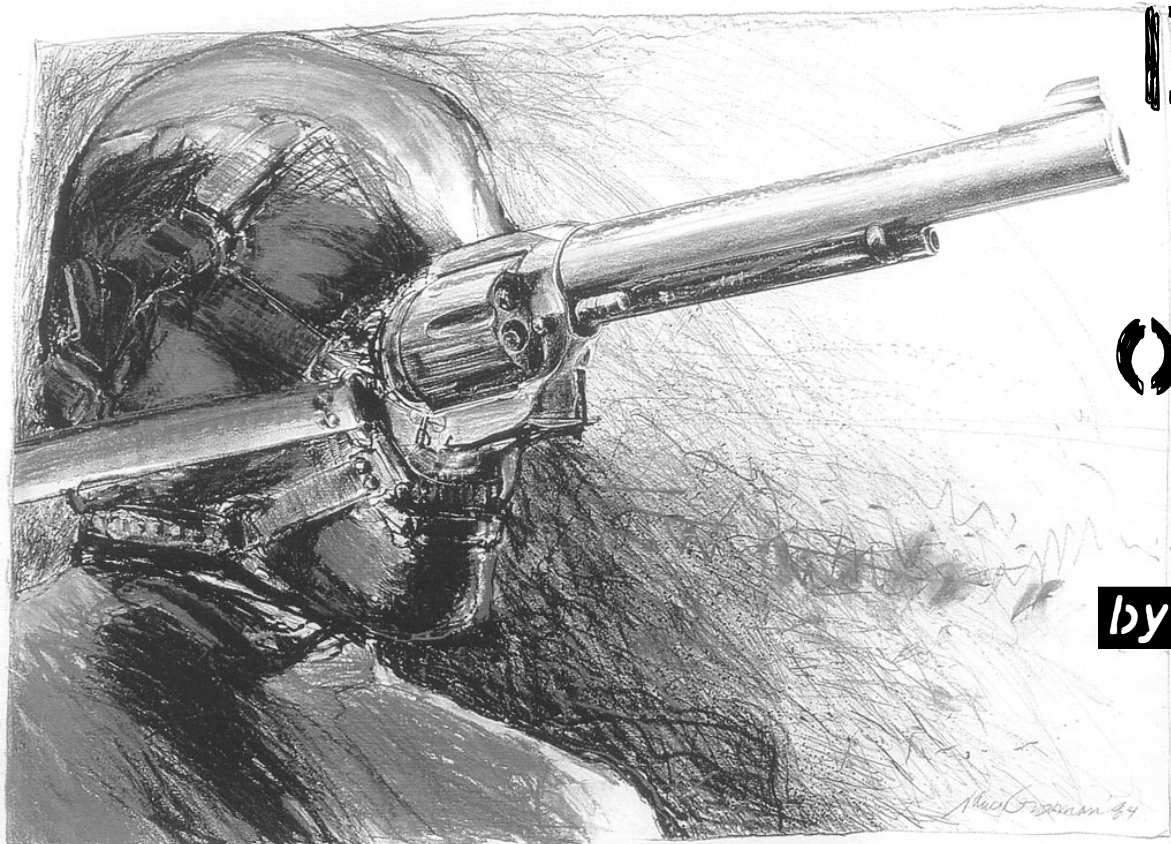
—Fange

*"CERTAINLY, IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO GO ALONG THE ROAD OF THE ORGANIZATION OF SYNTHESIS, OF PROPAGANDA, ANARCHIST EDUCATIONISM AND DEBATE — AS WE ARE DOING JUST NOW OF COURSE — BECAUSE... THIS IS A QUESTION OF A PROJECT IN TENDENCY, OF ATTEMPTING TO UNDERSTAND SOMETHING ABOUT A CAPITALIST PROJECT WHICH IS IN DEVELOPMENT AND PREPARE OURSELVES FROM THIS MOMENT ON TO TRANSFORM IRRATIONAL SITUATIONS OF RIOT INTO AN INSURRECTIONAL AND REVOLUTIONARY REALITY."*

—ALFREDO M. BONNINO,

ANARCHISM AND INSURRECTIONAL PROJECT





# Decoding the Apocalypse of the Militant Greek Left

by the Green Anarchy Collective

## Diplomatic Life Behind Bulletproof Glass

For nearly three decades the price tag for security in Athens was the highest of any U.S. diplomatic community in the world, due to the unpredictable, surprise attacks of groups like N17 and the ELA. At one point, the reward for information leading to the arrest of N17 members was fattened to more than \$9 million (\$5 million of which was pledged by the U.S., who were handing out a flier describing the bounty with every visa issued). Armed leftist groups were the backdrop against which ordinary Greek citizens carried out their affairs, but to fully understand the political climate that helped facilitate the proliferation of so many urban guerrillas, we need to take a closer look at the Greek leftist milieu.

During the military dictatorship in Greece, thousands of anti-Junta leftists fled to Paris, which became the unofficial base for resistance activities. The uprising against the U.S.-backed Junta gave birth to the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the political party which has governed Greece for 18 of the past 21 years, and also provided the recruitment reservoir for groups like N17 and ELA who didn't feel the struggle had ended with the establishment of a U.S.-influenced "puppet democracy". Because of their common ideological roots with N17, PASOK has long been dogged by allegations of shielding the group from prosecution. And indeed, as the year passed, it does appear that a complex web of suspicious characters and political interests was established around N17 and ELA, acting to protect them and to obstruct investigations. At this point it is fairly well established that ELA had links with the East German secret police (the Stasi), who had a well-documented track record of financing any group whose activities contributed to the "destabilization of the western democracies". The extent of Stasi influence on ELA can only be guessed at, but it does appear that the East German infiltration of the Greek government expanded after 1981 with Stasi agents forming para-state links with the Greek secret service. It was also during this period that N17 and ELA activity was at its peak.

And amidst all these cloak-and-dagger conspiracies and labyrinthine political games were genuinely anarchist elements, like Christos Tsoutsouvis, who received his initial arms and explosives training with ELA, before breaking off from "Anti-State Struggle" (a group whose name speaks for itself). In the case of N17, we seem to be dealing with a group who might have had good intelligence contacts within the Greek establishment but who also had anti-state leanings and acted autonomously from the official Greek left. As Ioannis Rahiotis, the lawyer representing Alexandros Yotopoulos, said at the opening of the N17 trials, "N17 represented the 'aggressive left'. Before N17, the left maintained a defensive role. N17 is the quarry that decided to turn hunter... Its activity is clearly political. Call it a crime, but a political crime."

## Inside the Shadow Wars:

In October of 2002, *Green Anarchy* received an English translation of a prison interview with Alexandros Yotopoulos, that originally appeared in the Greek newspaper, *Larmia Press*. How a written interview was smuggled out of a high-security prison is not known, but the state, humiliated and outraged that Yotopoulos was able to pull something like that off, imposes a week of isolation on him and bars him from having visitors. In this fascinating interview (which will be included in a forthcoming N17 booklet co-published by *Green Anarchy* and *Agitation Press*), Yotopoulos does not admit to his involvement in N17 but alludes to (without incriminating himself) other sects of N17 that are evading arrest; he allows it to be understood that N17 is autonomously organized and that cells take action independently of each other; that about 15 other members are free. Yotopoulos also advocates armed struggle in this interview and states that he does not consider N17 terrorists.

The apparent dismantling of the November 17 (N17) movement (and now, the recent ELA busts) have sparked one of the official Left's periodic confrontations with its deepest political uncertainty; the relevance of their program, analysis and outdated organizational forms to a world that has already witnessed the dreary, oppressive reality of communism and all its offshoots. Fourteen years after the Berlin Wall crumbled into tourist souvenirs, few marxist-leninists have faith in the "dialectically-ordained" revolution that will usher in a classless, communist society. Instead, disillusioned by the state-communist dystopias, many leftists—still intent on "managing" other people's lives—have shifted their focus towards more reformist goals, like socialism. Since most thoughtful people recognize that communism and capitalism are the same dismal story with a different face, the Left (especially here in the US) has been forced to modify its rhetoric, and to engage in anti-authoritarian posturing, in a desperate attempt to keep up with the times and keep their membership-starved organizations alive.

In Greece, nothing exposes the bankruptcy and irrelevance of the Left more than its fainthearted, pathetic attempts to distance itself from the N17 and ELA urban guerrillas, groups who clearly had a leftist interpretation of the world and who undeniably emerged from the radical left milieu. These arrests constituted an existential crisis for the Greek Left, which tried to explain it all away as a state-orchestrated campaign to attack the Left and curtail their civil liberties! This is because the Left wants to believe that the system still conspires against it, for that is the ultimate proof that it is still seen as a *threat* to the system. But the Left isn't seen as a threat to anything in Greece; it was the invisible assassins and "popular avengers" of N17 that the government wanted to neutralize, because their actions and proclamations reflected the widespread anti-Americanism that has existed in Greece since the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974, and their communiqués contained more or less what most people said in private conversation. When the N17 arrests began in 2002, and the Left failed to step forward and extend solidarity (to individuals who *sprang from their own ranks*), it fell upon the Greek anarchist movement to rally in support of the captured anti-capitalist guerrillas. Here at *Green Anarchy*, we understood the significance of the events that were unfolding in Greece and tried our best to provide our readers with accurate updates on this massive government clampdown. Now, however, with the trials of the N17 suspects in full swing, we feel its important to take a closer look at the actual *politics* of the N17 movement, in light of recent revelations.

## What Exactly Where the Political Objectives of N17?

The first and most basic obstacle to deciphering the politics of the N17 Movement is the lack of reliable information available on them here in North America and the fact that very few of their communiqués have been translated into English. Most of the data we currently have at our disposal comes in the form of theories that Greek prosecutors have formed since the N17 arrests began and can hardly be considered objective or unbiased. Compounding the difficulty further is the refusal of the majority of the N17 suspects to admit to their involvement in the group.

Alexandros Yotopoulos, the 63-year-old "renegade" communist — whom the Greek state describes as the "motor" that kept November 17 going — is steadfastly disavowing any connection with the N17 foot soldiers, and claims he is being targeted by a vindictive U.S. State Department who have never forgotten his anti-Junta activities in the early 1970's. Yotopoulos is being fingered by Greek authorities as the "cultured intellectual" who penned N17's highly informed proclamations (if this is true, it may well explain why the group elected to send its manifesto to French existentialist philosopher Jean Paul Sartre in 1977- two years after it first appeared in France's left-wing paper, *Liberation*). But Mary Bossi, who has spent 20 years "studying terrorism" in the service of the Greek government, has her doubts about Yotopoulos and believes that the groups' dismantling is far from over. "The only thing Yotopoulos convinces me of is that he wrote proclamations on demand, as a hired hand. They gave him the work to do," says Bossi,

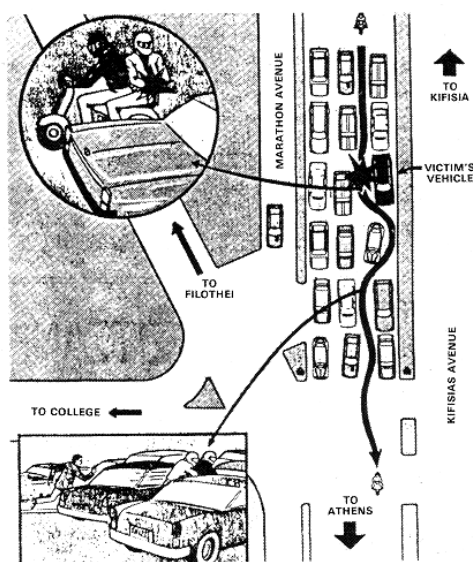


Diagram of an N17 Assassination

suggesting that Yotopoulos may have just been an N17 employee. Bossi herself was honored with a visit in 1997 by N17 at her doorstep, when they left a "calling card" - 1.5 kilos of dynamite - at her home.

At the opening of the N17 trials (which are expected to last at least five months) Yotopoulos vociferously denounced the proceedings, stating that "I reject the charges, of course. I am here because this is what the Americans and their collaborators in the government, who hate everything Greek, want. I come from a well-known left-wing family. I fought dynamically against the Junta and was convicted of this by a military court. I placed a bomb in the American embassy during the dictatorship. I did not cash in on my anti-dictatorship and anti-American activity and did not join any party, I did not collaborate. The indictment is a cheap Anglo-American fabrication."

The 19 N17 suspects face a total of 2,000 counts of murder, bombing and bank robbery, among other charges. Eleven of the accused, including Yotopoulos, face life sentences. Intelligence agencies are still hunting for other N17 founders, believed to be a small group of 3-5 and known as "the grandfathers of N17". Finding them may prove to be impossible. "They must look in circles of 70's revolutionaries, which includes much of Greece's political elite," said Giorgos Petsos, a former Pasok minister of public order and industry, who survived an N17 assassination attempt in 1989. Petsos claims that the assassination attempt against him was dictated by "political interests" other than N17, linking the attempt with the then-pending corruption trial of Pasok founder and former Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreou. "My disappearance would have served the political interests of the time. The Papandreou trial would not have taken place had I not survived," says Petsos, who also alleges that he was under constant surveillance by the EYP (the Greek Secret Service) around the time of the assassination attempt and that they allowed it to occur. "The people who stand accused are either a small part of the operational branch of N17 or else something entirely separate from the whole structure of terrorism in our country...The heads are clearly missing."

Aside from the Yotopoulos interview, the only direct explanation we have for the underlying politics motivating N17 comes in the form of an interview that Savas Xiros - the first N17 arrestee - gave from a prison pay phone. When asked about the N17 assassinations, Xiros states: “First of all, they were not done out of hate for a certain individual. It is done out of the love for the whole, for the whole that this individual has hurt.” When asked what led him to violence: “My conscience took me there. When in front of your eyes horrific things are taking place and you feel that you scream but are not heard, you must do something, you can’t stay complacent. I can’t possibly see these things and not react. I don’t know if what I did was the best way, but that’s what I did and what I’m paying for.”

## Sham Opposition and Heaps of Leftist Idiocy

This spring the three judges involved in the N17 trial decided that the trial would not be a “political” one, but strictly criminal. Interestingly enough, in an interview with *NET* state television, a spokesperson for Greece’s communist party (KKE) said, “N17 was a group with political aims, and played a political part.” However, she added “For us to say that the crimes were political does not mean that we idealize or exonerate them.” The KKE then went on to condemn N17 “terrorism” and claimed the group was created by the CIA and the Greek S.S.

These types of shift, spineless denunciations really come as no surprise; in times of crisis the left has always been characterized by sectarian squabbling and back stabbing. But the Greek left’s cowardly abandonment of its own frontline warriors placed many anarchists there in the awkward position of doing solidarity work for a movement many now feel they have serious misgivings about. As one Greek anarchist put it: “Every variety of leftism disassociated itself from N17 because it wants to be respectable. So Greek anarchists came to fill this vacuum of solidarity. By this anarchists supported a left guerrilla group and fought for *rights*, which isn’t what we fight for. Leftism deals with such struggles. But the left is absent and anarchists felt the need to fill this lack of solidarity”. Other Greek anarchists have expressed severe disappointment over nationalistic statements certain N17 prisoners have been making. With all these criticisms being voiced, it seems like a good a time as any to discuss our views on the left in general.

## Beyond Left and Right, Beyond Control...

Both capitalism and communism are failed systems, soon to be fossils, that attempt to exist outside the natural (biological) world, corrupting everything (the ecology, human health and relationships – even the weather!) with their destructive influence, as our souls bleed a slow death from the meaninglessness of it all. Both capitalism and communism reduce human beings to commodities, where our lives count only as cogs in some system and where every individual is leveled into the anonymous mass or fitted into an organization — or both at once. Under capitalism *or* communism, uniformity and banality characterize the general existence in which all individual subjects of the state have been reduced to zero. Under either system — which both worship at the altar of industrialism — the biosphere itself is wounded and covered over with standardizing uniformity by an abstractly organizing technology, so much so that in many bioregions the landscape already has the appearance of a machine-made commodity and gives off no aura, as if the planet is being rebuilt to become one giant Tokyo interspersed with patches of agriculture. Capitalism and communism are two fronts in a 10,000 year war on wildness and both leave the human spirit limping in alienation. Correlative with the poisonously grey nature of capitalist and communist societies is not only subjective but *objective* boredom. This is not the kind of boredom which eventually exhausts itself (that is, fades after having risen to the level of nausea); it is, rather, a stultifying, omnipresent atmosphere of psychic immiseration that reinforces the profound emptiness of civilized life.

As regular readers of this paper know, about the only thing we have in common with communists is a hatred for capitalism, but for us this extends to a hatred for *all* forms of bureaucracy, *all* forms of government, and an explosive, all-consuming hatred for the industrial system itself. We oppose the state, not merely, as according to Marxist analysis, by virtue of the class interests which the state serves, but by virtue of the fact that *it is the state*. As green anarchists, we stand outside the entire left/right spectrum of political thought (which we regard as a shallow, binary construct of civilized logic) and view the industrial power structure from a *radically* different perspective. Anarchy is not an idealistic experiment in anti-authoritarian theory that we seek to test, it is a mode of existence that we seek to *reclaim*, a condition of unimpeded wildness that has *already existed* and that our species has enjoyed for 99% of our time on this planet — before artificial systems of control like the state, religion, feudalism, socialism, etc., were imposed on us. This is something the left is not able to comprehend about the anarchy movement, as they attempt to corral us into their limited arena and claim ownership over our struggle by labeling anarchists the “extreme, utopian” branch of the ultra-left. But the left’s strategies of containment will not succeed this time around, for we’ve learned from our bitter defeats and our failed opportunities, and we’ll no longer be hoodwinked by the lies of those who would have us believe in the inevitable “withering away of the state”.

This, of course, brings up the question of what other movements of the dispossessed do we support and extend solidarity to, and under what circumstances? Clearly, supporting authoritarian movements and ideologies is going to get us nowhere, but how does this insight apply to a group like N17, who were/are explicitly anti-Stalinist and seem to have wanted something akin to “direct democracy”, and who have also demonstrated solidarity with anarchists in the past? At what point is enough common ground established to render our political differences insignificant and incapable of hampering effective, collaborative resistance against our shared enemy?

We bring these questions up not to undermine support for the N17 prisoners, but because we feel these are the types of questions the anarchist movement needs to be asking itself, as we assert our autonomy from the opportunistic left and renew our struggle with no illusions about what we’re fighting for.

**We would love to get some feedback on this article from anarchists in Greece. For more background on the N17 Movement, check-out the last few issues of *Green Anarchy*.**

# Right-Wing Militia Targets Anarchists

A Phoenix-area right-wing militia group has said it is going to be targetting anti-war protesters, and anarchists in particular. Violence has been threatened, including sniper attacks at demos, using rifles and nightvision scopes. Some may know that Arizona has a huge problem with racist border, anti-immigrant militias - it looks like it could be moving into the cities, and it also looks like they have some backing from local capitalists. Further, these militias (and this alleges to be a “coalition” of militias) seem to be making the connection between anti-border work and anarchists in particular (a legitimate connection), and the anti-war stance of anarchists, perceived as unpatriotic (rightly so), is being used to legitimize the attacks.

The following are statements from this group, recently posted on their website, some of which were re-posted to Arizona Indymedia (including some comments from a reporter for a local paper doing a story on it). Shortly after going up, the page that hosted the anti-protester militia has been taken down, probably because it got so much scrutiny. It’s not clear, but there are allusions to possible connections to police - they certainly are very concerned about the cops’ welfare (pro-war counter-demonstrators have been turning up at anti-war rallies here recently, so this is a possible source of their intelligence). They also don’t state which anarchist group they have “infiltrated” (nor do they offer proof that they have done so), though the obvious assumption is the Phoenix Anarchist Coalition or its east valley collective, the Monsoon Anarchist Collective.

People should remember that one sure sign of fascism is the rise of paramilitary groups who operate with the tacit (or even open) approval of the State. This, along with the development of anti-immigrant militias, is a very disturbing development if true, particularly given its presence in Arizona’s largest city.

It is important to point out a few things. There is no evidence of infiltration, and no one we know has reported any evidence of an attack or specific threat to anyone in particular. Nor is there evidence, aside from these statements and the website, that this group even exists, not to mention whether it has the numbers it claims.

This also comes in the context of the prominent arrest of local anti-racist, anti-police organizer, Laro Nichol by ATF on weapons and explosives charges. Also, it is important to note that COINTELPRO informs us that the police have frequently used paranoia and suspicion as weapons to destroy groups from the inside, so most anarchists I know are not over-reacting to this news. No one we know has been deterred from their normal activities. Work continues.

We’re sharing this information to make other anarchists aware of a possibly disturbing turn of events, but not

one that wasn’t predictable given the current political climate. We are not posting this to arouse feelings of suspicion or finger-pointing. A cautious attitude is recommended. Keep your eyes and ears open, but do not over-react.

The statements and links follow:

**“BRIEF NOTE: Our Militia Coalition is Growing.**

*We have now joined with two other Militia Groups. Our coalition is at about 82 members strong right now. We expect that one or two Militia and Pro-American groups will be joining us.*

*WE will be sending out a rally flyer to members. We will list meeting times for Anti-Protestor strategy meetings, the equipment we will need and post locations for surveillance and target marking.*

*The fun will begin soon just be patient.*

*WE have access to more Night vision equipment as well as illuminated low light Scopes. We also know where to get these items at a discounted price.....just for us.*

*Apparently our supplier is in on our crusade with us against the Anti-American protestors. They just don’t want their company name listed.”*

The following was taken from a press release issued when requested by local media:

**“PRESS RELEASE: Note to Media about Anti-American Protestor Militia Organization**

*Due to the nature of our intentions, we do not feel that it would be in our best interest to make any statements about our planned activities, the number of people involved and who they are. I figure this is the information you are seeking. After spending some time yesterday making calls to others in our coalition about your request, it was decided that no particulars would be revealed in the event of any interview.*

*I can however tell you that we do believe in the first Amendment and the exercise of it by protestors, however we feel that some people/groups have stepped across that fine line between use and abuse of their Constitutional rights. To us they have yelled “fire” in a crowded theatre. We know the police are being harassed and baited into taking actions against these protestors that of course they will exploit in the media, police brutality etc. To this point these extremists have not succeeded in doing the job.*

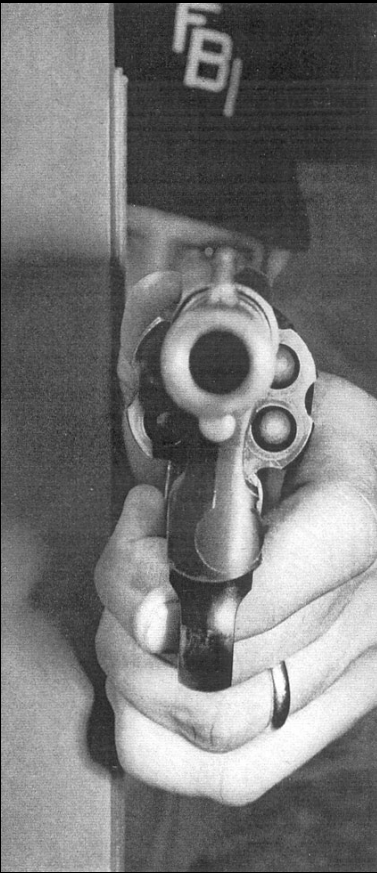
*We feel it is past time to Eliminate this element from our society. we feel it is our Patriotic duty. At almost any other time their protests would not be a bother to us but due to the nature of our Countries [sic] current situation, and the fact that we have been watching the activities of this/these groups for over 6 months (and before they even started their Anti-war campaign) we know for a fact that the Anti-Government and Anti-American Ideals that many of these people have are Parallel to that of domestic terrorists.*

*We started our operations and monitoring of this group back in June or July of last year, our initial beef with this group of Anti-American subversives started with their Anti-Border militia activities. We have a number of people infiltrated to this anarchist group and this is why we know what we know and what we know is what will drive us to fulfill the missions that we seek to accomplish. God Bless America, Have a Freedom Day. -VPC”*

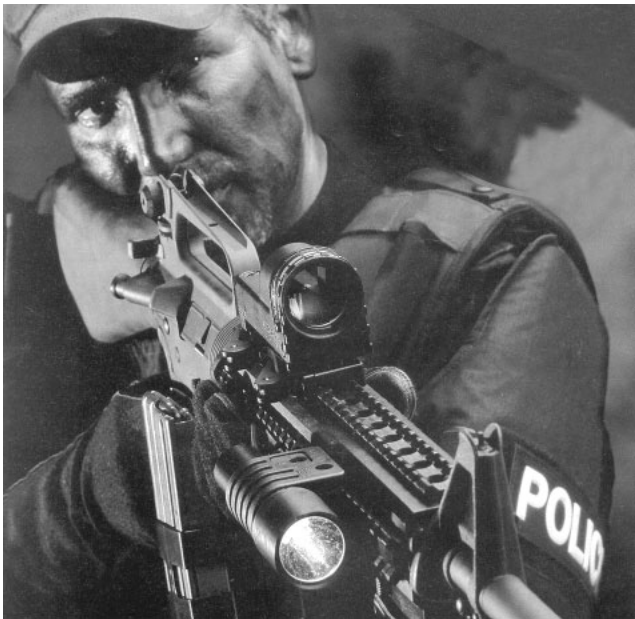
## Support Barbara Smedema: It’s Your Choice – Resistance or Annihilation!

*Green Anarchy* has just learned that Dutch anti-war activist, Barbara Smedema, is being imprisoned in the Women’s Penitentiary Institution in Evertsoord, Holland. She is being held for sabotaging the communication discs on an American communication bunker at the military airport Volkel. She carried out her action on the night of Feb 9, 2003, when she dismantled the discs causing roughly 500,000 euros in damage. This action was taken as an act of resistance against the (then) impending threat of war against Iraq. In this military bunker, which operates 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, the military communicates on matters concerning the American nuclear bombs that are located at the base in eleven special bunkers. It is claimed that for the past 30 years secret planning has been taking place at this bunker in preparation for possible deployment of the nuclear missiles stored there. Actions like this are a necessary part of dismantling the omnicidal war machine and it’s important to support those who get caught engaging in acts of defiance. As Barbara herself puts it, “We do not have the illusion that we can stop the war-machine in this way but we need to show hope and confidence that the world can be different.”

**Please write: Barbara Smedema, P.I. Ter Peel, Patersweg 4, 5977 NM Evertsoord, Holland.**







### March 26: Trial Begins For Teen Charged In Costly School Fire

A prosecutor told a Taylor County jury that a 17-year-old is a self-proclaimed anarchist who orchestrated a fire that damaged an Abilene school. The statement came as the arson trial of Nikolas Pethis got under way in Abilene. The prosecutor says the fire caused \$1.5-million in damage to Wylie Junior High School in Abilene. Pethis is accused of leading a group of teens suspected in several arsons last year, as well as thefts, burglaries and vandalism in the months leading to the Wylie blaze. Pethis is being tried as an adult on a charge of organized criminal activity. If convicted, he could be placed on probation or serve up to life in prison. Pethis’ attorney told jurors that he wasn’t at the school when it was set ablaze February ninth of last year. Attorney Lynn Ingalsbe says the fires were “random acts of juvenile violence.”

### April 24, Belgium: Geert Waegemans Released!

Geert had been serving 5 years for various ALF arsons. Controversially he named police informant, Anja Hermans, as aiding him with his actions after she named him as an ALF activist & alerted the police to his activity. Following Geert’s conviction for various ALF arsons the police were threatening to prosecute Geert for membership of a criminal organization (the ALF) and are also looking to place further ALF arson charges against him. He however, is now out of jail.

### April 26: Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty US Statement About FBI Raid On Their House

*“We all knew it would happen some day. The SHAC-USA office was raided by the FBI this week. In the midst of moving to our new office location, about 20 FBI agents and a search warrant came in and carted off a few computers and other items. But rest assured, we are now settled into our new office location and up and running!! Even with their most dramatic efforts, the Feds are still always one step behind.*

*Well, we wish them fun times in combing through our stuff. In the meantime, it’s business as usual and there’s a campaign to be won - and we are more eager than ever to win it! As of Monday we will have a new office number and can be reached at: 609.936.8422.*

*Let this latest turn of events be a jolt of caffeine for the campaign and the animal rights movement. This raid is the clearest sign yet that the HLS campaign is being effective - even more so than we may have thought. Rather than being derailed, we are driven by even more injustice against which to fight. Not only are the animals at HLS under attack, but our own activists. It’s time to pull together even more than before, resist this criminalization of dissent, and finish the hellhole that is HLS off for good!*

**INTERNAL SCREAMS, INTERNAL SCREAMS!  
RESTLESSNESS, TOSsing, TURNING  
DREAMING OF DESTRUCTION!  
DISTRUST, TORMENT, PAIN  
INTERNAL SCREAMS!  
NOXIOUS AIR, FACTORY FARMS, DEFORESTATION,  
OZONE DEPLETION  
INGESTING DESTRUCTION!  
CLONING, BIRTH CONTROL, ABORTION  
INTERNAL SCREAMS!  
POOR, HUNGER, HOMELESSNESS!  
LIVING DESTRUCTION!  
NOBODY CARES 'CAUSE  
SEINFELD IS ON!**

**- TURKEY  
AKA TRACY BOOTH**

# THE GRIP TIGHTENS Repression Reports From Around The World

*If you'd like to help SHAC-USA out, we welcome donations to replace some lost office equipment, and to cover legal fees. Checks and money orders can be made out to "SHAC-USA" and mailed to PO Box 22398, Philadelphia, PA, 19110. Also, please forward us the names of any sympathetic lawyers; help us complete a kick ass legal team to squash this bug of an investigation. Keep active, keep angry, and keep your heads up.*

*Remember, if you are visited by the FBI, or any other authority, tell them firmly that you have nothing to say and to go away. Say it over and over again as many times as necessary until they do. You do not even need to open the door unless they have a search warrant. If you are visited, please contact SHAC-USA at 609.936.8422 or 888.354.2435 for support. And remember, whether they have a warrant or not - NO MATTER WHAT - YOU DO NOT NEED TO SAY \*ANYTHING\* TO THEM.*

*Now more than ever, SMASH HLS.  
For the animals,  
- SHAC-USA."*

### May 6: Volkert van der Graaf Gets 18 Years For The Assassination Of Right-Wing Politician

Dutch extreme right-wing party leader Pim Fortuyn was shot to death (five times at close range) as he walked to his car after a campaign radio interview. Fortuyn was outspokenly racist, having recently published a book against the “Islamification” of Dutch culture, a self-proclaimed “populist” candidate who was in the process of successfully building an “anti-immigration” political party in the Netherlands. Moments after the fatal shooting of Fortuyn, Dutch police chased down and arrested 33 year-old Volkert van der Graaf and charged him with murder and illegal weapons possession; Police supposedly found a pistol on van der Graaf that ballistically matched the pistol used to assassinate Fortuyn and later claimed to have found ammunition at the suspect’s home in Harderwijk, about 30 miles east of Amsterdam, that matched shell casings at the crime scene. Volkert van der Graff was initially being described by the Dutch media as an animal rights and environmental activist who for years had peacefully and legally fought industrial factory farming in the Dutch courts. A founder of the animal and environmental advocacy group *Environmental Offensive*, van der Graff worked on more than 2,000 lawsuits to fight the expansion of industrial animal farming, and his arrest came as shock to most of his former activist colleagues. Shortly after van der Graff was officially charged with Fortuyn’s murder, there was an almost complete media blackout on his case here in the U.S. and it became difficult for us to provide our readers with regular updates. With the help of some of our anarchist comrades in Holland, we were able to learn that on July 12, 2002, van der Graff began a 70-day hunger strike to protest the



presence of a 24-hour surveillance camera in his cell. After ending his fast, Van der Graaf was transferred to a State mental hospital for “observation”, where *Green Anarchy* attempted to make contact with him and conduct an interview. Van der Graaf had made a dramatic and unexpected confession to the court during his first appearance there on March 27, and we were anxious to hear his side of the story, but transatlantic communication barriers prevented us from learning anything more about his situation until his recent sentencing in mid-April, 2003. Van der Graaf was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment by a surprisingly lenient Dutch court, after explaining that he felt it was his moral duty to help groups in society that he considered threatened by Fortuyn, whose rise to political power Van der Graaf compared to that of Nazism in Germany in the 1930s. Because he expressed “remorse” and claimed during his trial that he was now “struggling” with the question of whether his act was acceptable, the presiding judge ruled that “Dutch society should not give up on the hope of Van der Graaf being rehabilitated,” and dished out a comparatively mild sentence. Pym Fortuyn supporters were outraged by the light sentence and even many of our Dutch anarchist contacts admit that there are many puzzling questions about this case that haven’t been answered: for example, where Van der Graaf learned to shoot with such accuracy, where he obtained the extremely uncommon weapon in the first place (guns are hard to come by in Dutch society), why the clumsy escape attempt, and how come there has been no attempt to identify the other people who were

seen fleeing the assassination scene by eyewitnesses? Some have even suggested that there might have been State complicity in Fortuyn’s murder, speculating that he was viewed as an equal threat to the establishment as he was to foreigners. But like the convoluted, Machiavellian web of intrigue surrounding the N17 movement in Greece, we’ll probably never know the answers to these questions.

If anyone reading this has more up-to-date information on Volkert van der Graaf (especially his prison mailing address), then please contact the *Green Anarchy Collective* at: P.O. Box 11331, Eugene, Oregon, 97440 or collective@greenanarchy.org

### May 21, California: Animal Rights Activist Extradited To New York

Sabrina Forsey, an animal rights activist currently living in Oceanside, California, was extradited to New York last month after

police raided her home in connection with a charge from an old Bank of New York demonstration two years ago. She is being charged with riot and forgery (allegedly for giving false identification during her initial arrest.) Her next court date is on June 17- for her lawyer to submit a briefing to the court on why she should be treated as a “youthful offender”, as she was 17 when the charges first occurred.

**The purpose of the enemy is to break our bones, the only target they can see. Our purpose is to defend the collective imagination now gaining momentum.**

### Former ELF Spokesmen Form New National Revolutionary Organization in U.S.

**May 12, Portland, Oregon:** Leslie James Pickering and Craig Rosebraugh, the former spokespersons for the North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, announced the formation of a new revolutionary organization in the United States called **Arissa**. “Arissa is an effort at building an effective revolutionary movement in the United States,” the group proclaims on its website: [www.arissa.org](http://www.arissa.org). “Until such time as a revolution occurs, the U.S. political structure will continue to inflict widespread atrocities on a domestic and international level.” Both Pickering and Rosebraugh operated the North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, an independent public relations group ideologically supporting the Earth Liberation Front. Pickering and Rosebraugh left the press office after concluding that more directed, strategic, and severe action needed to be taken against the political structure itself in the United States. Both maintain that only a political and social revolution in the United States will create the necessary opportunity to alleviate most domestic and international human and environmental problems caused by the U.S. government. Determining that the pursuit of building an effective revolutionary movement must begin with public education, Arissa in the near future will be offering educational materials in various forms of media designed to demonstrate the need for a revolution in the United States.

**For more information contact: Arissa PO Box 6058, Portland, Oregon 97228-6058. Email [info@arissa.org](mailto:info@arissa.org) Call: (716)698-2396 or (503)703-6069.**

# THE GIANT IS AWAKENING!

## PRISONER UPRISINGS & SOLIDARITY ACTIONS

"I'LL WATCH YOUR SYSTEM FALL, I'LL LIVE TO SEE US FREE. YOUR SOUL IS SO CORRUPT. YOUR HEART IS TRULY BLACK. I NEVER USED TO HATE. TILL YOU PUT A GUN TO MY BACK. YOU FUELED THIS RAGE INSIDE ME, MADE ME WHO I AM. YOUR OPPRESSION MADE US HATE. YOU MADE US WARRIORS.... NOW TONIGHT WE STRIKE."

- JEFF "FREE" LUERS

### December 28, 2002, California: Exercise Yard Melee Injures Guards And Prisoners

A scuffle between prisoners and guards at the California State Prison-Sacramento in Folsom left two guards and an unidentified number of prisoners injured. The incident occurred in an exercise yard when guards attempting to break up a fight between two prisoners were attacked by at least 16 other prisoners. The prisoners were subdued with pepper spray, batons, rubber bullets and warning shots from assault rifles. The prison was locked down as a result.

### December 30, 2002, Colorado: Juvenile Prisoners Riot!

22 juvenile prisoners at the Lookout Mountain Youth Services Center rioted, causing a small amount of damage to the facility which is operated by Youth Track, a private, Denver-based company. No reason was given for the uprising in media reports.

### Uprising at Shotts prison

On 2 January at least 80 long-term prisoners at Shotts maximum security prison in Scotland staged a mass protest by seizing control of two wings of the gaol for 19 hours. A negotiated end to the "disturbance" eventually took place, indicating a recognition by the authorities that the use of physical force to end the prisoners' protest would encounter fierce resistance, although the source of the prisoners' rage remains unresolved. Throughout the protest the Scottish Prison Service (SPS) maintained a conspicuous silence on exactly what had fuelled the prisoners' action, while the media's reporting of the protest focused almost solely on the alleged injuries received by two prison officers who, it was claimed, had been hurt while trying to intervene and stop a fight between rival prisoner gangs. This was a total lie as it turned out, and eventually the prisoners hung a banner from a window, saying "Leave our visitors alone", indicating that the protest had been sparked by the treatment of prisoners' families. The strip-searching of prisoners' families, including old people and small children, provoked an earlier uprising at Shotts in the late 1980s.

Less than a week after the protest on 2 January, a second "disturbance" broke out at Shotts. This time in a special unit for "difficult" prisoners, and again the media focused exclusively on the injuries allegedly sustained by prison officers, while the SPS maintained its usual silence on exactly why Shotts was so clearly in a state of turmoil and open revolt. The impression deliberately created was one of violent and unmanageable prisoners attacking and injuring prison staff without reason or cause. In reality, Shotts as an institution is intrinsically designed to provoke bitterness and confrontation, and since its creation in the early 1980s, its regime has been based on the principle of completely disempowering prisoners and denying them any opportunity or right to peacefully resolve their differences with the administration. It is a torture chamber built for repression and brutality. Since 1987 there have been at least five major uprisings at Shotts, and for much of the prison's history prisoners there have experienced a virtual lock-down regime.

### February 11, Oregon: Prisoners Get Probation For Participating In A Riot

**MEDFORD** - Eight prisoners who took part in a jailhouse riot have been sentenced to "community service" (road crew) and probation for defying their captors. The riot, which occurred on Feb. 11, lasted approximately 30 minutes.

### Prisoners on Hunger Strike

Prisoners at the Colina II prison in Santiago, Chile, began a hunger strike during the week of March 24 to protest jail conditions and demand that a recent law be applied to prisoners already serving time. Law 19,856, published this past February, provides certain benefits and reduces jail time for good behavior. When authorities ignored their demands, the hunger strikers stepped up the protest by self-inflicting stab wounds; at least 26 were hospitalized with minor wounds on March 27. Another 40 hunger strikers from Colina II were hospitalized on April 2 with self-inflicted wounds.

The Confraternity of Common Prisoners (Confrapeco) warned that the protest would spread quickly around the country. Prisoners at the Ex Penitenciaría joined the hunger strike on March 30, and 43 prisoners at the preventive detention center in Osorno joined on April 1. The next day, nearly 1,500 prisoners at El Manzano prison in Concepción and another 200 in Chillán prison joined the protest.

### Mass jailbreak in Brazil

Officials in Brazil say at least 100 juvenile offenders have escaped from a detention center in the city of Sao Paulo. The police are using helicopters and police dogs to search for the escapees. Correspondents say there have been 30 jail breaks and rebellions so far this year in Brazilian prisons.

"SOME MAY THINK THIS MESSAGE SEEMS HARSH BUT. WHAT'LL YOU DO WHEN YOU AIN'T GOT NO FREEDOM LEFT? SOMETIMES NON-VIOLENCE IS COMPLIANCE. SOMETIMES YOU HAVE TO FIGHT BACK IF YOU EVER WANT THINGS TO CHANGE. DON'T JUST STAND THERE. FIGHT BACK NOW!!"

- JEFF "FREE" LUERS

### April 19, Australia: Protests at Baxter

Demonstrators clashed with police for the second day running outside Australia's newest detention center for asylum seekers. Hundreds of protesters opposed to the country's policy of mandatory detention of refugees had gathered for the weekend at the Baxter camp in the state of South Australia. At least five people were arrested when they attempted to breach a security cordon around the camp, which is 260 kilometers (160 miles) north of Adelaide. Protesters say detainees at Baxter are treated brutally - an allegation denied by immigration officials.

Despite a large police presence, which includes mounted officers, riot squads and even boats patrolling offshore, campaigners have insisted they are determined to get as close as possible to deliver their message of support for the detainees. The demonstration started peacefully with the participants banging pots and pans to make a noise, whilst chanting "Free the refugees".

Graffiti was sprayed on signs, gates and barbed-wire fencing pulled down as the crowd tried to breach the camp perimeter. But they were held back by about 200 police in riot gear, some of whom were on horseback. The center holds 300 "illegal" immigrants whose applications for refugee status have been rejected and who are awaiting deportation. It opened last year after the camp at Woomera, which was the scene of violent protests last Easter, was taken out of use.

### May , Italy: North African Immigrants Riot at Italian Detention Centre

During the evening there was a small rebellion in a "welcoming" center for immigrants at Ponte Galeria in Italy. About 80 North Africans, complaining that supper was served much later than usual, occupied the detention center and began to burn mattresses. When the "mobile department" and guards arrived they were "welcomed" with stones and other thrown objects. Two men briefly escaped but were caught shortly after by agents. The area was surrounded for several weeks to prevent other escapes.

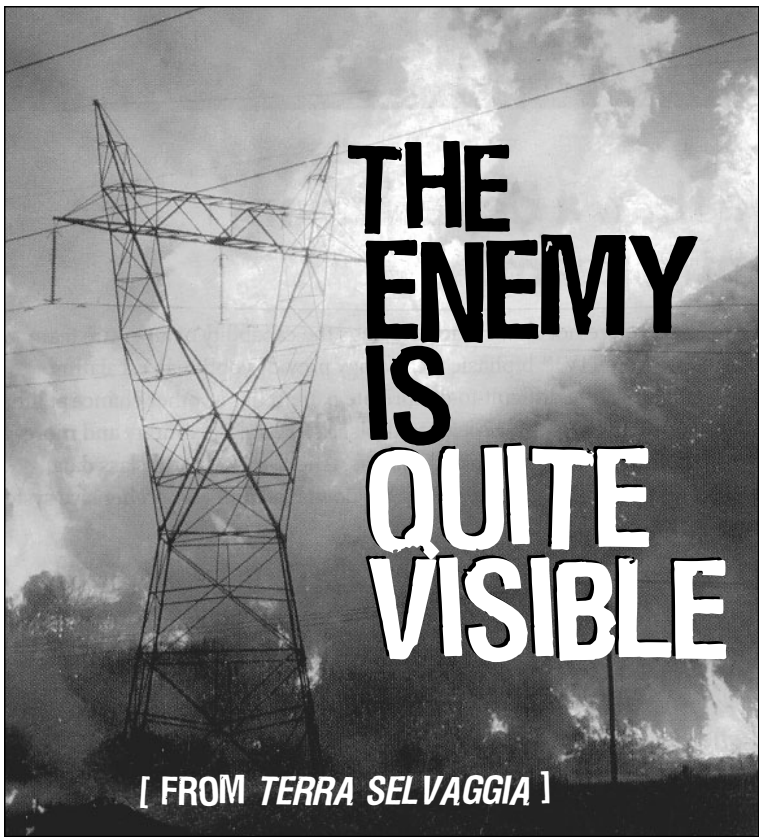
### May 10-11, Algeria: Police Quell Jail Riot With Tear Gas

**ALGIERS** - Anti-riot police lobbed tear gas to quell a mutiny at Algeria's biggest prison where inmates protested against their exclusion from a presidential pardon of 5,000 prisoners. Prisoners at the fortress prison of Tazoult near Batna in eastern Algeria had climbed on to the roofs of jail buildings and burned bedding in a riot which began the night before. A statement from the Batna public prosecutor's office said four members of the security forces were slightly injured and four prison inmates had "suffered effects from (tear) gas inhalation." The official APS news agency, citing a medical source at the nearby university hospital, said earlier eight prisoners were injured and taken to hospital, two of whom needed surgery. The statement said security forces using tear gas restored order at the high-security prison on May 11. The operation took place after talks between officials and prisoners to halt the riot broke down. It gave no further details on the action but said the protest had involved "a limited number of detainees," all serving long terms for common law offences. APS reported smoke could be seen billowing from the prison after inmates, some on top of the roof and others in their cells, set fire to bedding. President Abdelaziz Bouteflika marked the coming birthday of the Prophet Mohammad by pardoning 5,000 of the North African country's prisoners. The amnesty, ahead of the celebration, included some inmates sentenced to life in prison but not those jailed for terrorism, corruption, drug trafficking or rape. In 1994, a heavily armed group of Islamic fundamentalists attacked the top-security Tazoult prison and freed about 1,000 high-risk prisoners. Riots and mutinies are common in the Maghreb country due to overcrowding and poor living conditions.

### Philippines: Inmates Stage Riot

**CEBU CITY** - Several inmates at the Bagong Buhay Rehabilitation Center (BBRC) were reportedly injured during an afternoon riot in the city jail where some 200 angry prisoners staged a noise barrage, exploded Molotov cocktail bombs and wrecked the jail's canteen. The trouble in BBRC erupted after the visiting rights of inmates were suspended until they surrendered firearms, a hand grenade and five cellular phones allegedly hidden inside. Jail officials ordered the suspension of the inmates' visiting privileges after the daring escape of five robbery suspects, two of them armed with .45 caliber pistols. Most of the escapees have now been apprehended. Recently, inmates began banging plates and other utensils on the grills of Gate 3 at about 1 p.m. and were shouting after jail officials did not allow their families and friends to get inside. They claimed that they were being punished for the escape of the five inmates.





### **FOR SEVERAL YEARS NOW, EVEN ON THE LEVEL**

of the mass media, there has been talk about risks connected with the over-abundance of electro-magnetic waves in the environment. Though the most frequently mentioned and feared sources are the transmitters for cellular phones, these are certainly not alone, but are merely the latest on the scene. In fact, radio and TV antennae, radar platforms, high tension wires, military stations and dozens of different electrical household appliances have already been disseminating waves for decades that, even if trifling when taken singly, together and with continuous exposure could have effects on the health of living beings.

And if these effects are still largely unknown, or absolutely denied with firmness by a few of the usual experts, this is no reason for putting one's mind at ease. After all, the greatest fear is that of the unknown. And in this case, the unknown is not just that of the future reversal of health in our bodies (or those of others), of new incurable diseases or of the expansion of cancer-caused slaughter; but also in the invisible nature of the poison in question. If the pure and solid dust of DDT was handled without care or apprehension, as, not surprisingly, other substances still are

(perhaps because we don't believe that it's possible for something that we can calmly hold in our hands to kill us), the fear of what we **don't** know and **can't** see and touch is another thing altogether. Viruses, bacteria and radiation have killed quite enough, at bottom, and none of us could see or feel them, necessarily delegating the knowledge of and defense against them to science and its people. Their lordships love to describe a fear of this kind as "irrational" in their greed to control it in order to reduce everything to the vision of their rationality; through measurement, screening, legal limits, appeals to an unstoppable progress, the attempt to make every danger **scientific** in order to render it palatable ("rational" to be precise) but they cannot hide the roots planted so thoroughly into this reality: the cases of leukemia, tumors and dozens of other maladies are increasing and more and more people die without being able to clearly link it to a precise cause. Because there are thousands of causes. The invisible but omnipresent harmfulness strikes everyone, and no one escapes from it.

But in this climate, some manifest certainties also emerge, as always. First of all, that neither the reassurances of the experts nor the legal limits placed on the potency of the transmitters will protect us from electro-smog. The latter and the technical organizations appointed to their measurement are solely price-fixing decrees useful for giving the appearance of a situation under control and pacifying the most enflamed minds. We will never grow tired of confirming that we can never expect the protection of our health from that which poisons us: the state and capital in their technologically advanced form. And it is with this conviction, combined with the desire not to see the antennae altered but to make them disappear completely; that we must animate the struggle against the antennae. Then the struggle would have to have different contents and methods.

Also, the antennae do not just represent an assault on our health, but are also realizations of the development of technological society toward new forms of economic expansion in alienating communications and control. We must not, in fact, forget that it is not just our phone calls that travel through these waves, but also data and information that in their totality form a huge cage in which to enclose us, signals that keep track of us hour after hour, making it indispensable to **behave** when near an optimum signaling device like the cellular phone.

In a land already polluted by thousands of antennae, they will not hesitate to bring in just as many more for the third generation of cellular phones, capable of transmitting not just voices and

words, but images as well. But among the 45 million Italians who own cell phones, and among the remaining few who still lack one, fear and discontent increases as well about these sources of waves placed in the neighborhood of schools and housing. Of course, a bit of hypocrisy can be seen here in those who don't want electro-smog but at the same time demand optimum reception with their little phones, but it is necessary not to fall into the trap of considering those who manufacture and disseminate what is harmful and those who are induced to use it in the same light. It would be like seeing everyone who uses electricity as complicit in the nuclear industry, an idea that in the end becomes an easy excuse for the holders of power who want to make us feel like their accomplices, with the logic that for one's personal good a collective harm is unavoidable. A logic of the same sort that claims that for the collective good of society — in this case the progress, security and convenience brought by the telephones—it is necessary to sacrifice with an individual harm, the antenna over one's head. In this way, it becomes difficult to rebel any more, feeling on the one hand complicit and on the other, egoistic in one's demands.

So it becomes necessary to understand the snares of psychological terror, because new passages are revealing themselves in which new channels of resistance have opened. Resistance that is, furthermore, quite widespread with innumerable committees and individual actions against the antennae throughout the territory. A struggle that, if it usually has partial objectives, is, nonetheless, frequently carried forward with a deep personal involvement, setting aside sterile and useless institutional methods like the collection of signatures and the appeal to politicians. In reality, one sees road blockades, climbing on roofs or scaffolding with fastenings and lowering placards as well as the blockage of work at the installations. Moreover, some have acted under the cover of night with the heat of fire to destroy these hateful antennae. These last actions are not distinct or separate from the struggle in which they arise. Indeed, let's leave the distinction between "ecoterrorist" and "bonest citizen" — useful for dividing a movement of opposition and justifying acts of repression against those who do not disassociate themselves from a practice of sabotage, but rather recognize its importance to the struggle — to the infamous journalists, politicians and armchair environmentalists.

We are interested in a struggle from the base, without hierarchy, specialization or compromise. We think that this is an area in which a partial struggle could become a point of departure for a generalized critique of power, and a consequent practice in which each one chooses the method and moment that he or she prefers.

### **Terra Selvaggia,**

is an anti-civ, italian language publication.

Write to Silvestre, via del Coure no.1, 56100 Pisa, Italia

"The last communities do a ghost dance, and the ghosts of the last communities will continue to dance within the entrails of the artificial beast. The council-fires of the never-defeated communities are not extinguished by the genocidal invaders. . . The fire is eclipsed by something dark, but continues to burn, and its flames shoot out where they are least expected."

— Fredy Perlman, Against History, Against Leviathan

# Into the Darkness!

## Earth Liberation Front Actions

### **April 1, Alabama: Navy Vehicles Targeted By ELF**

**MONTGOMERY**—Vehicles at a Navy recruiting headquarters were attacked overnight. Damages included messages spray-painted on three Navy sedans and two Navy vans. In addition, a large two-panel truck was set on fire. Damage estimates are not known at this time. Messages spray-painted included the slogans "Stop the War," "Leave Iraq" and "Stop Killing," clearly indicating the reason this ELF cell targeted the military facility. It was also reported that all cars and vans targeted carried the ELF signature in spray-paint. This is the first specifically anti-war action carried out by the ELF in North America, though there have been several direct action attacks on military recruiting centers since the start of the war in Iraq.

### **April 11, California: ELF Hits SUV's With Anti-War Message**

**SANTA CRUZ**—Police are searching for vandals with an anti-war message who defaced an estimated 65 sport utility ve-

hicles and trucks in a late-night spray-painting blitz. Slogans including "No Blood For Oil", "SUV's Suck" and "No War" were plastered onto 45 new vehicles at the North Bay Ford and Lincoln Mercury dealership on Soquel Avenue, as well as onto 18 or 20 vehicles parked in front of residents' homes. The graffiti also included references to ELF, or the Earth Liberation Front, a radical environmental group that has previously taken credit for torching and vandalizing dozens of SUV's in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Santa Cruz police believe the late-night spree might have been the work of the ELF, but no links have yet been established.

### **May 7, United Kingdom: ELF Destroys Multiple GM Crops at 11<sup>th</sup> Hour**

An Earth Liberation Front cell has made a total of six audacious actions to disable one of the last midlands GM farm scale trials of Genetically Modified crops. On their last visit early in the morning of Saturday May 3, the group even stayed until daybreak so that they could photograph the results of their work (**editors note: carefully consider this practice from a security standpoint**).

This series of actions comes at a most embarrassing time for both Biotech Company, Aventis, and the government who are embarking on a GM Public Debate in May. A spokesperson for the ELF cell who agreed to be known only as GM Free Cathy said, "Our action is different from those carried out by other groups. We decided that we needed plenty of time to remove as much of the crop as possible. We first entered the field on a frosty December night and have since returned five times, decontaminating a different part of the field on each visit. As the crop grew we changed our technique, using hoes when the plants were small and scythes when they became waist high. We even perfected our own tool using pallet wood." "Apart from being dangerous to other plants and the whole environment if genes transfer, these crops benefit no-one except the seed companies," said Cathy. "They have no added value nutritionally, they are not cheaper and the farmers are locked into impossibly tight contracts. In short, they are a cynical attempt to control the entire food production process from seed to plate. We would not accept this type of monopoly in any other business. Why risk the world's food supply

in this giant gamble?" When asked to answer the charge that these recent ELF actions amount to no more than a form of vandalism, Cathy stood up for her un-named colleagues. "These are proud and lovely people who wouldn't harm a flea but who will always stand up for what they know is right," she said.

"In the ancient Anatolia people danced on the earth-covered ruins of the Hittite Leviathan and built their lodges with stones which contained the records of the vanished empire's great deeds.

The cycle has come around again. America is where Anatolia was. It is a place where human beings, just to stay alive, have to jump, to dance, and by dancing revive the rythems, recover cyclical time. An-archic and pantheistic dancers no longer sense the artifice and its linear His-story as All, but merely one cycle, one long night, a stormy night that left Earth wounded, but a night that ends, as all nights end, when the sun rises."

— Fredy Perlman

Against History, Against Leviathan

# Against the Engineered Mutations of Life!

## Anti-Genetics Actions

"He snips at what surrounds him. He inserts, recombines, rearranges, edits, programs, produces. The result: the natural world is. But is not. Here is a potato. A potato, but not a *real* potato, for it harbors the gene of a chicken. Here is an ear of corn made of insects, there a trout with human DNA. Look! It's a sheep sporting tobacco genes. Lo and behold. They've edited a mouse with a human ear growing out of its back!" —Chellis Glendinning, *Off the Map*

### January 16, France: French Actors Destroy GM Crops In Support Of Jose Bove

A group of French actors, scientists and (unfortunately) politicians destroyed a field of genetically modified rapeseed in support of anti-globalization activist Jose Bove, who was sentenced to a prison term in November 2002 for a similar action. Bove, a rebel celebrity in France for his high-profile campaign against what he calls "junk food", was sentenced to 14 months in jail for a 1999 attack on a field of GM rice at a research center near the southern city of Montpellier. Although this action was slightly marred by the presence of several French politicians seeking to boost their careers by capitalizing on a popular, grassroots struggle, we were happy to see more crop pullings start to occur again in Europe. While GM crops are common in the United States, France and other European countries are dubious about using the new genetic technology in Agriculture. France grows experimental GM crops at about 100 test sites, all approved by the government's Farm Ministry.

### April 7, United Kingdom: Group Destroys GM Trial Crop

Environmental militants claim to have completely destroyed a genetically modified crop trial in North Yorkshire. The raid was just the latest in a series of attacks targeting GM oil seed rape at Hedley Hall, near Tadcaster, owned by Leeds University. An anonymous spokesman for the activists said: "This crop of GM oil seed rape is now 100 percent destroyed—completely destroyed. Probably every single plant has been either uprooted or broken." In a phone call to the *Evening Press*, he said the test site was now "invalid" and would be yielding no data. He claimed the vast majority of people were opposed to this "malignant technology" and suggested that it might be in Leeds University's best interest to cease its work on genetically engineered crops.

### April 9, Germany: GM Wheat Trials Approved But Site Sabotaged

**HAMBURG**—German authorities said that they had recently approved an application from Swiss agribusiness giants Syngenta to start Germany's first trials of genetically modified (GM) wheat. But the following day some 25 Greenpeace activists sowed organic wheat seed on the test site, aimed at ruining trials as it would be impossible to tell the difference between GMO and conventional wheat. "It does seem that the test area may not be usable now," said Peter Hefner, a spokesman for Syngenta in Germany. "There is a time limit for plantings because of the wheat's biology. This raises questions about how we can undertake scientific research in Germany. It appears undertaking such research in Germany will be problematic."

### May 13, Scotland: Test Crops Slashed by Anti-GM Militants

Environmental militants have claimed responsibility for an attack on field-scale GM test crops in Aberdeenshire. Anti-GM saboteurs said they took the action in the night to prevent cross-contamination between flowering genetically modified oilseed rape and commercial, non-GM acreage. A swathe of around 150 yards of GM oilseed rape crops growing at Teuchathaugh Farm was found lying slashed to the ground.

### May 18, Scotland: GM Saboteurs Strike Again!

**FIFE**—An inquiry has been launched into the damage to GM oilseed rape plants at Wester Friarton Farm in north Fife. Anti-genetix militants said the plants had been chopped down in the middle of the night as part of an ongoing campaign, in which another farm-scale GM crop trial at Daviot, Aberdeenshire was damaged the previous weekend. This action is the latest setback to Scotland's GM crop programme, during which the Scottish Executive abandoned a farm scale trial at Munloch, on the Black Isle, following pressure from activists.

### May 20, Brazil: Militants Invade Monsanto Biotech Test Farm

**SAO PAULO**—Militants of the Landless Peasant Movement (MST) in Brazil invaded a Monsanto Co. test farm in a bid "to expel" the U.S. biotech giant and set up an organic farm on the site. The incursion by some 80 members from the MST and other landless groups onto an experimental farm in Ponta Grossa, Parana was aimed at stopping Monsanto from using farming methods unpopular in the state, according to the group. Parana is a large farm state in southern Brazil where Monsanto tests conventional and genetically modified corn and soybeans. Activists said the objective of the occupation was "to expel" Monsanto from the state and convert the 43 hectare (106 acre) farm to organic production. Monsanto is one of Brazil's biggest producers and sellers of conventional soy, corn and other crop seed stock, as well as farm chemicals and fertilizers. The Ponta Grossa farm was invaded on May 9 by 800 militants who destroyed some laboratories and burned down cornfields. Monsanto said it has asked authorities to prosecute those responsible for "acts of violence against its staff, property and research and development in Brazil."

### A Step towards Victory! Unrelenting Sabotage Prompts Mass Exodus of Europe's Biotech Companies from Genetically Modified Crops

Europe's biotech firms have cancelled millions of pounds worth of research into GE crops, sending the industry into a steep slump, according to a new European Union study. The European Commission report admitted that nearly two thirds of the EU's biotech companies have cancelled GM research projects over the last four years, mainly because of the controversy over the safety and labeling of GM crops, and continuing militant resistance. The Commission also found that the number of GM field trial applications fell by 76 percent last year, from the 250 submitted in 1998 to a level not seen since 1992. By comparison, U.S. field trial bids have remained relatively stable at about 1,000 a year (this needs to change!). The Commission's gloom deepened after an opinion poll of 16,500 people showed deep-rooted disgust with GM crops.



## Why Incremental Reforms Are Killing Us: An Eco-Anarchist Perspective on the GMO Labeling Movement

In light of the success that the "economic sabotage" wing of the anti-Genetix movement has had in the UK and France, it's an utter embarrassment to see north america's lame activist counterparts whining about ethical labeling and "fully informed" consumerism, once again missing an opportunity to confront the totality of the System that spawned biotech, nanotech, napalm, nuclear power, and every other technologic-kill horror we're smothered by. The biotechnology industry is expanding and consolidating too fast for us to articulate anything short of a fundamental challenge to the "New World Order" of globalization and industrial technology. A "final solution" paradigm is fast approaching and to simply slow it down is to pass off the work of real change to future generations. Let's do everything we can to uproot these seeds of destruction before the monocultures of the mind erase life's genetic memory banks.

As currently framed, the *request* to the US government to label products containing GMOs fails to address the root causes and motivations behind the development and commercialization of agricultural biotech, not to mention the governmental acquiescence that has allowed these technologies to flood the market already. In case you haven't noticed, no *fundamental* challenge to state power ever comes of polite requests. If our only goal is to foster more consumer choice for us and others of our privileged class, and slow down the eventual domination of the world's food supply by a few mega-corporations, the government would love to accommodate us, and does so regularly, at the expense of cultural and biological autonomy everywhere else.

Both self-appointed and popularly "elected" government elites have facilitated the accumulation of resource-based capital around the globe ever since they first imposed themselves on primitive and village-scale societies. State power continues to facilitate this kind of colonialism today through the skillful architecture of modern "democratic" institutions that fool citizens into thinking they have influence over their communities and the course of history. But while political "representatives" bicker over who and what is bought and sold and to whom and how, the overarching theme of commercial industrial exploitation of everything imaginable (and then some) persists from within a realm that goes largely unquestioned, as evidenced by Intellectual Property Rights, IMF and World Bank "development" programs, NAFTA, GATT, not to mention the proliferation of the military-industrial-nuclear-computer complex.

GMOs in US food products are already too widespread for a labeling law to do anything but convince most consumers that the point is moot. While this simple reform is possible within the current framework of US politics, it is a bare-minimum concession. "Demand the impossible" must be the central motto for any radical social movement. The more we *DEMAND*, the more we will reclaim. Some may say that while this critique is valid, its application is impractical. But the restrained pragmatism of liberal reform has only served to dilute revolutionary movements. Reformism has won us only illusory "victories", while permanent losses of species diversity and cultural tradition accelerate. High technology civilization has created the almost total alienation of modern humanity from the rest of nature. Our only hope is to deconstruct the myth of "progress" and modern society's obsession with scientific rationale and industrial solutions to *industrial problems*. The belief that humanity can manage the disintegration of the planet's life support systems by exerting greater control upon them, or by reworking their circuitry, is delusional at best, and suicidal at worst. *Industrial civilization is killing everything!* It's time to slap ourselves out of our temporary comfort zone and start fighting the industrial-capitalist future.





"When I go around in America and I see the bulk of the white people, they do not feel oppressed; they feel powerless. When I go amongst my people, we do not feel powerless; we feel oppressed. We do not want to make the trade... We must be willing in our lifetime to deal with reality. It's not revolution; it's liberation. We want to be free of a value system that's being imposed upon us. We do not want to participate in that value system. We do not want to change that value system. We want to remove it from our lives forever... We have to assume our responsibilities as power, as individuals, as spirit, as people..." — John Trudell

# WHEN WORLDS COLLIDE!

## INDIGENOUS & CAMPESINO RESISTANCE

Reprinted below is a powerful Communiqué from the EZLN which was read during the demonstration in Rome, Italy, on February 15, 2003. It was read by Heidi Giuliani, the mother of anarchist Carlo Giuliani, who was assassinated by the Italian police in Genoa in July of 2001.

### Zapatista Army of National Liberation. Mexico, February 15, 2003.

#### Brothers and Sisters of Rebel Italy:

Greetings from the men, women, children and old ones of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation. Our word is made cloud in order to cross the ocean and to reach the worlds which are in your hearts. We know that today demonstrations are being held throughout the world in order to say "No" to Bush's war against the people of Iraq. And it must be said like that, because it is not a war by the North

nations of earth. They would also fall on our hearts, and thus universalize that fear which they carry within. This war is against all humanity, against all honest men and women.

This war seeks that we should know fear, that we should believe that he who has money and military force also has right. This war hopes that we shall shrug our shoulders, that we shall make cynicism a new religion, that we shall remain silent, that we shall conform, that we shall resign, that we shall surrender...that we shall forget... That we shall forget Carlo Giuliani, the rebel of Genoa.

For the Zapatistas, we are the men who dream our dead. And today our dead are dreaming a rebel "NO." For us there is but one dignified word and one conscientious action in the face of this war. The word "NO" and the rebel action.

That is why we must say "NO" to war.

A "NO" without conditions or excuses.

A "NO" without half measures.

A "NO" untarnished by gray areas.

to renouncing our humanness. It is a "NO" for humanity and against neoliberalism.

We would hope that this "NO" would transcend borders, that it would sneak past customs, that it would overcome differences of language and culture, and that it would unite the honest and noble part of humanity, which is also, and it must not be forgotten, the majority.

Because there are negations which unite and dignify. Because there are negations which affirm men and women in the best of themselves, that is, in their dignity. Today the skies of the world are clouded over with warplanes, with missiles - which call themselves "intelligent" merely so that they can conceal the stupidity of those who are in charge of them, and those who, like Berlusconi, Blair and Aznar, justify them - with satellites which point out where there is life and where there will be death.

And the land of the earth is tarnished with machines of war which would paint the earth with blood and shame. The storm comes. But dawn shall come only if the words made cloud in order to cross borders is turned into a "NO" made stone, and they make an opening in the darkness, a crevice through which tomorrow can slip.

Brothers and sisters of rebel and dignified Italy: Please accept this "NO" which we, the zapatistas, the smallest, are sending you. Allow our "NO" to unite with yours and with all the "NO's" which are flourishing today throughout the earth.

**Viva the rebellion which says "NO!"  
Death to death!**

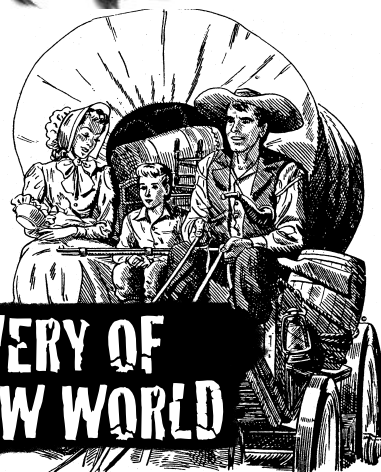
**From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast.  
By the Comandancia General of the  
Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous  
Committee of the  
Zapatista Army of National Liberation.  
Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos  
Mexico, February of 2003.**

### February 7, Mexico: EZLN Attempt to Evict Anglo- Imperialists From Chiapas

An American couple whose guest ranch in the southern Mexican State of Chiapas has been blockaded by Zapatista rebels said the state government was weighing whether to buy them out to avoid a violent confrontation. The Americans, Glen Wersch and Ellen Jones, have operated a business called Rancho Esmeralda as an Eco-tourism resort for eight years. Neighboring rebels have said the land rightfully belongs to local peasants, not foreigners, and have been trying to seize it since December 2002.

### April 7, Chile: Incendiary Attacks Against Forest Company in Mapuche Territory

On April 7, eight hooded men/women attacked the Forest Company "Bosques Arauco", near Collipulli. Forest companies are timber-exploiting multinationals which are destroying the local flora. The "Bosques Arauco" Forest Company has several properties, one of which — of about 685,250 acres — was attacked by the rebels, who burned 3 trucks and blocked the timber load. The damage to the machinery is estimated at more than 250,000 dollars. In previous weeks the same property suffered other incendiary attacks. This action seems to be related to the trial against Mapuche indigenous fighters in Angol, charged with "terrorism" because of attacks against companies which are plundering Mapuche territory.



### DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD

The creatures that we met this morning  
marveled at our green skins  
and scarlet eyes.

They lack antennae  
and can't be made to grasp  
your proclamation that they are  
our lawful food and prey and slaves,  
nor can they seem to learn  
their body-space is needed to materialize  
our oxygen absorbers—  
which they conceive are breathing  
and thinking creatures are breathing  
at first as angels or (later) as devils  
when they are being snuffed out  
by an absorber swelling  
into their space.

Their history bled from one this morning  
while we were tasting his brain  
in holographic rainbows  
which we assembled in Quite an interesting  
set of legends—  
that's all it came to, though  
the colors were quite lovely before we  
poured them into our time;  
the blue shift bleached away  
meaningless circumstance and they would not fit  
any of our truth-matrices—  
there was, however,  
a curious visual echo in their history  
of our own coming to the earth;  
a certain General Sherman  
had said concerning a group of them  
exactly what we were saying to you  
about these creatures:

it is our destiny to asterize this planet,  
and they will not be asterized,  
so they must be wiped out.  
We need their space and oxygen  
which they do not know how to use,  
yet they will not give up their gas unforced,  
and we feel sure,  
whatever our "agreements" made this morning,  
we'll have to kill them all:  
the more we cook this orbit,  
the fewer next time round.  
We've finished burning all their crops  
and killed their cattle.  
They'll have to come into our pens  
and then we'll get to study  
the way our heart attacks and cancers spread among them,  
since they seem not immune to these.  
If we didn't have this mission it might be sad  
to see such helpless creatures die,  
but never fear,  
the riches of this place are ours  
and worth whatever pain others may have to feel.  
We'll soon have it cleared  
as in fact it already is, at the poles.  
Then we will be safe, and rich, and happy here forever.

By Carter Revard



American people, nor is it a war against Saddam Hussein. It is a war by money, which is represented by Senor Bush (perhaps in order to emphasize that he is completely lacking in intelligence). And it is against humanity, whose fate is now at stake on the soil of Iraq.

This is the war of fear.

Its objective is not to defeat Hussein in Iraq. Its goal is not to do away with Al Qaeda. Nor does it seek to liberate the people of Iraq. It is not justice, nor democracy, nor liberty which drives this terror. It is fear. Fear that the entire world will refuse to accept a policeman which tells it what it should do, how it should do it and when it should do it. It is fear.

Fear that the world will refuse to be treated like plunder. Fear of that human essence which is called rebellion. Fear that the millions of human beings that are mobilizing today throughout the world will be victorious in raising the cause of peace. Because the victims of those bombs which will be launched over Iraqi lands will not only be Iraqi civilians, children, women, men and old ones, whose deaths will be merely an accident in the headlong, arbitrary path of the who, from his side, calls on God as an alibi for destruction and death. The person leading this stupidity (which is supported by Berlusconi in Italy, Blair in England and Aznar in Spain), Senor Bush, used money to buy that power which he is trying to hurl upon the people of Iraq. Because it must not be forgotten that Senor Bush is the head of the self-proclaimed world police, thanks to a fraud which was so immense that it could only be covered up by the shadows of the twin towers in New York, and by the blood of the victims of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Neither Hussein nor the Iraqi people matter to the North American government.

What matters to it is demonstrating that it can commit its crimes in any part of the world, at any moment, and that it can do so with absolute impunity. The bombs, which are to fall in Iraq, seek also to fall on all the

A "NO" with all the colors which paint the world. A "NO" which is clear, categorical, re-sounding, definitive, Worldwide.

What is at stake in this war is the relationship between the Powerful and the weak. The powerful is powerful because he makes us weak. He lives off our work, off our blood. That is how he grows fat while we languish. The powerful have invoked God at their side in this war, so that we will accept their power and our weakness as something that has been established by divine plan. But there is no god behind this war other than the god of money. Nor any right other than the desire for death and destruction.

The only strength of the weak is their dignity. That is what inspires them to fight in order to resist the powerful, in order to rebel. Today there is a "NO" which shall weaken the powerful and strengthen The weak: the "NO" to war. Some might ask whether the word which has convened so many throughout the world will be capable of preventing the war or, once it has begun, of stopping it.

But the question is not whether we can change the murderous march of the powerful. No. The question we should be asking is could we live with the shame of not having done everything possible to prevent and stop this war?

No honest man or woman can remain silent and indifferent at this moment. All of us, each one in our own voice, in our own way, in our own language, by our own action, must say "NO." And, if the powerful wish to universalize fear through death and destruction, we must universalize the "NO."

Because the "NO" to this war is also a "NO" to fear, a "NO" to resignation, a "NO" to surrender, a "NO" to the forgetting, a "NO"

"We are the people. We have the potential for power. We must not fool ourselves. We must not mislead ourselves. It takes more than good intentions. It takes commitment. It takes recognizing that at some point in our lives we are going to have to decide that we have a way of life that we follow, and we are going to have to live that way of life...That is the only solution that there is for us."

— John Trudell

# DESTROYING THE CAGES! ANIMAL LIBERATION ACTIONS

"Eleven years ago I stood in the nation's largest fur research laboratory at Oregon State University. I wasn't there to lock down and I certainly wasn't there to deliver a petition. My warriors and I were there to burn the place to the ground." — **Rod Coronado**

**This is a translated claim from an earlier action received anonymously by the Finnish ALF SG:**

"February 27, 2003. Kalajoki Jäähdyttämö (fur feed supplier).

We placed a generous amount of petrol in three different locations around the building which ignited causing over one million euros worth of damage to the building. This feed supplier produced feed for over 65 farms in the area.

It should be of no surprise to anyone why this business was targeted. Aside from the physical and psychological suffering at fur farms, the farmers seek to domesticate these animals for the purpose of maximizing profits and productability. Wild animals are turned into commodities which only the wealthy elite can afford.

For the fur industry, from the farmers to the fur shops, this is business as usual. They have no respect for the animals' lives, never mind their inherent right to live wild animals do. This horrifies and angers us.

Fur farmers claim to care about the animals they 'produce', but the majority of farms fail to follow even the most lax welfare regulations. The botulism poisoning which killed over 60,000 foxes last autumn is a good example of their complete ignorance towards animals' well-being. Instead of ending their suffering immediately, they left them to suffer for days.

For these reasons and more we decided to act directly ourselves instead of waiting passively for our government to do something about this (because it is not in the nature of ANY government to value life over profit).

Direct action is the only way to affect the fur industry.

As the fur farmers should be well aware, we do not sleep and we will never quit!"

## Late March, Austria: Animal Rights Activists Attack Circus Vehicles

The following communiqué was received anonymously by activists in Austria: "At the end of March 2003, someone set fire to vehicles of the Austrian National Circus in Klagenfurt, Austria. There have been two animal rights arsons before this fire, both connected to violent attacks of circus staff on AR protestors. In this third fire, a caravan and a transport lorry were destroyed. The damage is said to be 40,000 Euro."

## April 2, Austria: ALF Attacks Hunting Cabins For The Rich

The following communiqué was received anonymously by aboveground activists in Austria: "On 2nd April 2003, three hunting cabins on stilts beside a golf course at castle Goldegg near Gabersdorf near St. Pölten were burned down late in the night. The cabins were near to each other, each built on a concrete foundation with four stilts on top of which were platforms and the cabin, which had an oven, a sofa, windows and shooting slots. The fire service was called out but could save neither of the cabins. The ALF has claimed the action."

## April 9-10, Sweden: ALF Liberate Mink ESSUNGA

The following press release was sent to the Swedish ALF-Support Group: "On the night between 9 and 10 April the cages were opened for over 1000 minks at Osttorps fur farm in Essunga, Sweden. The farm has over 8000 minks, but only 1000 were at this place where the minks were released. Around the farm there was a 1.5 meter high metal fence, but the farmer had left lots of material for us to build things for them to climb over the fence. Animals have the right to live in freedom for their own sake. Fur farming and other business with animals and their bodies can not go on. We will do anything so the farmers will collapse economically, and so the minks can feel the ground under their paws at least one time before they die and for some of them to have a chance in freedom. 'Rather die now in freedom, then tomorrow by torture and captivity.' This action was carried out by the Swedish ALF in memory of C and B, who knew how it is to change a life in a cage to one in freedom. - ALF"

## April 26, England: HLS Client Gets Bricks Through Its Windows

**NOTTINGHAM**—Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty-UK received anonymously the following demo report: "Last night windows were taken out with bricks at the Nottingham BASF building by the



night-time ninjas. BASF this is a warning, cut your links with HLS.... We will continue hammering nails into HLS's coffin. There cannot and will not be any compromise. Until all are free... ALF"

## May 2, England: HLS Client's House & Car Attacked

**HARROW**—Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty-UK received anonymously the following demo report: "We visited Sankyo director Balandra in Harrow in the early hours and painted two cars, slashed the tires on them and threw paint on his house. Until these people stop paying for animals to be terrified and abused at HLS, we will return to act for those that cannot defend themselves. Unseen they suffer, unheard they cry. ALF."

"If your heart does not break with the awareness of what is being done to the world we love, I feel sorry for you, maybe you're already dead. But if the death of the world we love makes you cry, then take those tears and turn them into action.

The Earth gives us not what we need to live so we might simply survive; she gives us her power so we may fight. Now get out there and do something your ancestors and future descendants will be proud of."

— **Rod Coronado**

# The Wild Fight Back!

"In the cage is the lion. She paces with her memories. Her body is a record of her past. As she moves back and forth, one may see it all: the lean frame, the muscular legs, the paw enclosing long sharp claws, the astonishing speed of her response. She was born in this garden. She has never in her life stretched those legs. Never darted farther than twenty yards at a time. Only once did she use her claws. Only once did she feel them sink into flesh. And it was her keeper's flesh."

— **Susan Griffin, Woman and Nature**

## Angry Baboons Block Uganda Road

Baboons "protesting" at the killing of one of their group disrupted traffic on the busy Tororo-Jinja highway in eastern Uganda. This is the second time the animals have behaved in such a manner on the same road. The trouble began after a speeding bus ran over a huge female baboon, who died instantly in the Busitema Forest Reserve, 15 kilometers from the Uganda-Kenya border. Soon afterwards, an infuriated group of baboons converged at the scene of the killing and surrounded her body. They sat in the middle on the road for about 30 minutes causing a temporary traffic jam. A similar incident happened on this very stretch of the road late last year, when baboons hurled sticks and stones at motorists after a baby baboon was knocked over and killed by a vehicle.

## Pig Shoots Butcher Dead In Minnesota!

**FRAZEE**—A man was fatally shot in a bizarre hog-butchering accident, according to the Becker County, Minnesota sheriff's office. Police say that a hog was shot with a .22-caliber rifle by one of the men doing the hog butchering on the Arvid-Matson farm near the town of Frazee. The hog initially fell backward but then jumped forward, knocking the shooter down and causing the rifle to discharge. The bullet struck John Matson, 55, of Frazee, who died later at a hospital in Fargo. Police ruled the shooting an "accident", probably because it's inconceivable to them that the hog might have been fighting for its life.

## Dogs Go Berserk in Germany, Attack Cars

**MUNICH**—A pack of frenzied dogs attacked six parked cars in the Bavarian capital, leaving a trail of damaged vehicles in their wake and causing panic among residents woken by the disturbances. Police said that the pre-dawn canine attack caused extensive damage to the cars parked in the Nymphenburg district.



A spokeswoman said the dogs were still on the loose despite a police search. Local residents said they saw boxer-like dogs biting and snapping at the cars around 4:30 a.m. Bumpers, mudflaps and numberplates were all torn off by the canine onslaught. Police also found teeth marks on the bodywork and hubcaps of the cars, which were covered in blood and saliva from the dogs. "It sounded like the cars were being broken into," said Guenther Sailler, a local goldsmith. "It was incredible. One of them leaped again and again with unbelievable force into the side of a car and bit into it like a lunatic." When the wild animals fight back... we discover that civilization is much more vulnerable than we thought to unrestrained attacks on the technology that is destroying the world.

## Resisting Oppression In South Africa

The matriarch of a herd of elephants in South Africa opened a gate with her trunk to free antelopes being held at a camp in the east

of the country, said local conservationists. Evidently, a private game capture company had rounded up the antelopes at their camp near Empangeni to relocate them for a breeding program. The team was settling in for the night when a herd of 11 elephants approached. The herd's matriarch approached the enclosure gates and began tampering with the metal latches holding the gates closed. She carefully undid all the latches with her trunk, swung the gate open and stood back with her herd. "At this stage the onlookers realized this was not a mission for free food, but actually a rescue," said ecologist Brendon Whittington-Jones.

**EDITORS NOTE:** We came across this particular news item in the Winter 2003 issue of **OFF!**, one of the only worthwhile "campus-based" papers being published in North America. To obtain a sample copy of **OFF!**, write to: **OFF!**, OCCM Office UUW 209A, OCC/ SUNY Binghamton, Binghamton, NY, 13902

## A Voice from the Trees

*Hail Squirrels! Generous, forgiving re-foresters of the city, the town, the wilds. Hail for your courage while we set our stormtrooper dogs upon you, laughing at your "antics" as you rush to safety, missing your warnings: The trees are disappearing, life is in danger. We must work now to correct the lack of cool green lushness for all.*

*Our heads should bow with shame as we trap, drown, poison you when all you seek is a home for your family and seeds for survival and for repopulating our wastelands with life, with foliage, with trees.*

*They have learned to live among us and try daily to remind us of our duties to the planet; we shoo them away waving arms, hoses, rifles. What will happen when the kind, hopeful squirrels realize that we are not their friends, that we are not all working to better our scorched earth? Their warning cries will not then be to alert the birds, rabbits, raccoons of animal predators, but to warn them of us.*

*We, in our arrogance, think we control this pitiful, fragile habitat of ours. When our animal friends turn we will go without electricity, water, gas; no line or pipe above or below*

earth will be unsevered. Wings, teeth, claws will no longer humbly defer our presence, for we will be seen for the plundering, murdering, arrogant fools of soft flesh, blunt teeth, slow limbs that we are — they will attack.

*You won't hear them coming though, you'll be listening to the latest music, stock quotes, political promise in your air-conditioned, HEPA-filtered, granite-countered tomb — it will be too late.*

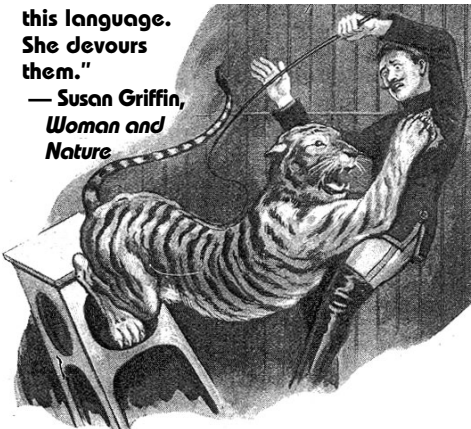
*When the squirrels and the others have finished dehumanizing the land, the trees will grow again. They will erupt through the abandoned asphalt of our roads, spreading shade, safety, peace. The more timid animals will return to our cities and will marvel at all the work to be done, but it will happen. Cars will rust, buildings eventually crumble, the garden in the city will be real at last.*

*So, the next time a squirrel approaches you, don't think of a comical beggar, interloper in your garden, bulb-consuming spreader of disease, for none of these ideas is correct. You are being honored: Act accordingly.*

— **Beth Garon**

"'Why does she roar?' they ask. The roaring must be inside her, they conclude. They decide they must see the roaring inside her. They approach her in a group, six at her two front legs and six at her back two legs. They are trying to put her to sleep. She swings at one of the men. His own blood runs over him. 'Why did she do that?' the men question. She has no soul, they conclude, she does not know right from wrong. 'We have souls,' they proclaim, 'we know what is right,' they approach her with their medicine, 'for you.' She does not understand this language. She devours them."

— **Susan Griffin, Woman and Nature**





# REVIEWS

All reviews are written by members of the GA Collective, unless otherwise noted. Send us your zines, pamphlets, newspapers, books, videos, or CDs, for review. Sorry, we have limited space, and must restrict what we review based on our own priorities for each issue. We do accept reviews written by others, so send them our way!

## Anarchism vs. Primitivism and The Inefficiency of Capitalism, by Brian Oliver Sheppard (See Sharp Press)

These two recently released pamphlets by See Sharp Press (SSP) demonstrate why some of us wish to go even further than the "post-left" critique, towards an "anti-left", and possibly "post-anarchism" point-of-view. It is not that we do not fully embrace what some have termed "anarchist principles", such as autonomy, non-hierarchical processes, and mutual aid networks. It is precisely because **we do** value these concepts, that we feel anarchism, as it has mostly been played out historically and in the visions of the contemporary anarcho-leftist persuasions today, has fallen miserably short.

**Anarchism vs. Primitivism** is nothing more than a desperate attempt to thwart the influence of an important strain of anti-civilization anarchist thought through manipulation of quotes and texts and the brutal distortions of primitivist ideas. Sheppard depicts a fascistic post-industrial "primitivist-run" society, complete with special agents to stamp out any creeping-in of "civilized" thought or activities. This not only seems to neglect the unambiguous (clearly visible to anyone without agenda driven motives) anarchist prioritization within primitivism, but also seems to be projecting the underlying quasi-authoritarian nature of anarchists of the left who wish to maintain or implement a system which still needs running.

Also, by labeling all who view the mechanisms or institutions of civilization as fundamental problems, as "primitivists", flattens-out and sterilizes a very diverse discourse. This pamphlet is yet another pathetic attempt to dust off the same old tired crap of anarcho-syndicalism (complete with its fetishization of technology, industry, progress, organization, and the working class) and once again quote a bunch of dead Euro-dudes in order to demonstrate that the only anarchism that will be tolerated is one that Bakunin or Kropotkin would approve of. If the only anarchism relevant to contemporary anarchists is one that **was** firmly cemented and **complete** by the early 20th century, maybe we need to start defining ourselves in entirely different terms. Sure, as with any direction of thought or analysis (i.e. primitivism), there are limitations to consider and legitimate criticisms and concerns to be discussed, such as an over-dependency on anthropology or the subtle tendencies towards rigidity, but as far as **Anarchism vs. Primitivism** goes, there is no constructive value here. It is an obvious smear piece based in zero integrity.

As if **A vs. P** was not vacant enough, we recently received **The Inefficiency of Capitalism**, also by Brian Oliver Sheppard (See Sharp Press). If the title does not give it away, its main (moronic) thesis is that Capitalism's major flaw is its lack of efficiency! If only production, distribution, and consumption could be organized by anarchists, everything would work out great. A mule, forty acres, and a factory job for everyone (just make sure you're in the field or at the factory on time). Sounds liberating, right? It's hard to even get past the cover of this one, with its ridiculous title and an image of disciplined workers marching in line on a grid under the manager's whistle and clock to keep it all running smoothly. Check it out for yourself, because I found myself falling asleep reading

this one, and when I wasn't, I sure as hell didn't feel like I was reading anything relevant to anarchists (or anyone else in the 21st century for that matter). To quote the back cover: "... *this pamphlet tackles the subject (capitalism) head on, on its own turf – economics – and demolishes the common belief that 'capitalism delivers the goods.' ... through close consideration of the 10 most inefficiencies of capitalism... (including) product duplication, cost-shifting, systematic unemployment, waste of unsold goods, and the inefficiency of hierarchy... given the labor and resources at hand, capitalism is a horribly wasteful system that produces a pitifully small amount of useful goods.*" Wow! That's radical. This is surely a spoof, but if this is truly their anarchist vision, I'm outta here. **Contact: See Sharp Press, P.O. Box 1731, Tucson, AZ 85702**

## The Green Nazi, by J. Sakai

Like many important concepts, bio-regionalism has been distorted by fascists and authoritarians to rationalize or provoke their horrific agendas. This was certainly true of the blueprint and propaganda of Nazi Germany. **The Green Nazi** is an interesting look at how the Nazi Party used a bio-regional perspective, linked with ethnic superiority, racial purity, and rational-efficiency to create a "Blood and Soil" mentality with terrifying consequences. It focuses primarily on R. Walther Darre, the Minister of Agriculture (and simultaneously the first chief of the S.S. Race and Settlement Office)

of the Nazi party, and his ability to enrage and influence the rural populace with his distorted agrarian-culture. Darre was an influential ideological force within Nazi Germany, and considered the Party not dedicated enough to Master Race politics. Considering himself a "Nordicist", believing in an

imaginary Nordic superior race of tall blond-haired men that inhabit Scandinavia and North Germany, he became the Imperial Peasant Leader ("Reichsbaurenführer"), and cloaked his "racialist class politics in Green populist clothing". Combining "bio-dynamic" organic intensive farming, eugenics-like ethnic distillation, existing class frictions, fascism, and the vision of a neo-tribal Greater Germany which would "reclaim" its supposed historic lands, Darre utilized an economic crisis to turn rural Germany into a breeding ground for hate, and provided the Nazis with an army.

**The Green Nazi** is a very interesting read, but falls somewhat short of its goal to draw many significant connections to contemporary environmentalists, except for a few vague references to present-day Greens and neo-Nazis. It does, however, help shed light on some of the negative historical implications of bio-regionalism. In no way does this invalidate the bio-regional perspective, in its own terms, but it does offer some cautionary context to how it has been expressed and how it might get digested given this aspect of its historical legacy. At its core, bio-regionalism is about autonomy from over-arching human structures and a deep connection and understanding to the beings and natural patterns of a specific region. This is a vital aspect to the decentralized and self-organized anarchist model of living, and to any society wishing to live within the web of life, despite how

the term has been mangled by socialists, fascists, and megalomaniacs. **This pamphlet is available from Kersplebedeb, CP 63560, CCCP Van Horne, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H3W 3H8, or email: info@kersplebedeb.com**

## Mao's War On Nature, by Judith Shapiro (Cambridge University Press)

This long-overdue and painstakingly researched book easily warrants a full-page review, but lacking the space to do so in this issue, we'll try to briefly summarize the key points made in Shapiro's brilliant critique of "revolutionary" China. One of history's biggest lies is that there is any fundamental difference between capitalism and communism, when in reality industrialism and technological "progress" are the shared religion of all modern states, whether those states are democratic, fascist, socialist or overt military dictatorships. Clobbering nature into submission has united North Americans and Europeans, Asians and Africans, communists and republicans, since the dawn of the 20th century, when high-tech explosives, heavy machinery, chemical agriculture and mass transportation seemed at last to be fulfilling the injunction of Genesis 1:28 to "fill the earth and subdue it". In fact, the almost mystical reverence for technology reached such a peak in the former U.S.S.R. that Soviet citizens were naming their children after Henry Ford and his tractors. Although (as the historian Douglas Weiner has documented) Friedrich Engels himself wrote of how nature "avenges" humanity against exploitation, the Eastern Bloc kept subjugating and degrading its part of the planet until the bitter end, in a mad, power-crazed race with the western industrial empires. Yet the efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union to "conquer" nature pale in comparison to the Maoist adversarial stance towards the earth, which stands out as perhaps the most extreme case of the modernist conception of humans as distinct and separate from the web of life.

Few social experiments in history have had the scope and penetration of Chinese state socialism. From 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party seized power, to 1976, when Mao died, Mao and the communist party sought to reengineer Chinese society by remolding human nature. In-depth studies of the political repression that took place during the Mao era are legion, but less well known are Mao's fanatical efforts to reshape the natural world; one of the most valuable aspects of Shapiro's new book is that it's the first of its kind to examine the relationship between political repression and environmental degradation during the Mao years, exploring a congruence between violence among humans and violence by humans towards the nonhuman world that can be applied to all power structures and all modern societies.

Traditional Chinese philosophy emphasized moderation and adaptation in human relationships with the natural world. But Mao Zedong, under the influence of the Soviet Union, took another view: "Man must conquer nature" [Ren Ding Sheng Tian]. During the Mao era the effort to conquer nature was highly concentrated and oppositional, motivated by a drive to transform the face of the earth and build a socialist "paradise", and characterized by military coercion, mass mobilization and a pathological enormity of scale. Mao's philosophy held that through concentrated exertion of human will and energy, material conditions could be altered and all difficulties overcome in the struggle to rapidly industrialize China. In concert with the militarization of other aspects of life, Maoist ideology pitted the "people" against the natural environment in a fierce struggle. To assist this effort, the power of ideas was unleashed through mass propaganda campaigns, often accompanied by the use of military imagery.

Official discourse was filled with references to a "war on the earth". Wheat was to be sown by "shock attack". "Victories" were won against flood and drought. Insects, rodents and sparrows were "wiped out". Military images - discipline, regimentation, attack and redeployment - represent the didactic expression of Mao's war against nature, both literally and metaphorically, as all China came to resemble an army in a state of military alert, which facilitated party control and left virtually no room for dissent (critics of Mao's environmental and population policies, like hydraulic engineer Huang Wanli, were labeled "rightist" and sent to construction sites to do hard labor).

The result of all this? Overextraction of resources; impoverishment of the land's food-bearing capability through intensive farming schemes, reclamation projects that led eventually to desertification, and a drastic reshaping of the physical landscape, usually beyond the ability of ecosystems to recover or adapt. A horrific example of all this is the 1958-60 Great Leap Forward, when the demand for fuel for "backyard furnaces" caused massive deforestation and Soviet-influenced agricultural practices decimated the land, resulting in the greatest human-created famine in history.

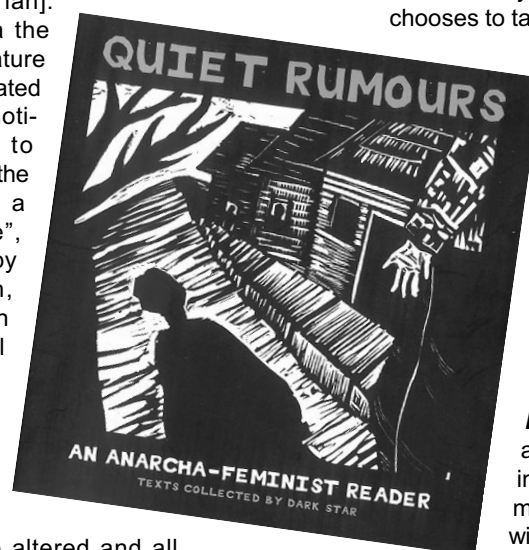
This book is an excellent case study of political, social and environmental domination leading to a self-destructive rush towards ecosystem collapse. How anyone could associate a psychopath like Mao with "liberation" is unfathomable, but the authoritarian left (at least in North America) continue to glorify him as a "champion of the people", which is yet another reason for anarchists to make a clean and definitive break with the Left (this would include refusing to work with RCP front-groups like "Not In Our Name"). The biggest weakness of this book is the liberal "solutions" that Judith Shapiro suggests for China's environmental crisis in her concluding chapter (public deliberation and oversight, "enforceable regulatory frameworks", "rule of law"! ). But overall, this book is a great read, and has a lot to contribute to the growing "anti-Left" discourse that's now occurring in the anarchist movement.

## Quiet Rumours: An Anarcha-Feminist Reader, compiled by the Dark Star Collective (AK Press)

**Quiet Rumors** feels like a refreshing breath of fire. These revolutionary murmurs fill me with hope and encourage me to dream of transformation. Around the flames we stand, shoulder to shoulder, warmed by the glow of potential. **Quiet Rumors** combines multiple women's voices to celebrate the destruction/cracking/opening of otherwise static monoliths. Digging into various manifestations of domination, the collection also offers a critique of their roles within feminist and anarchist struggles. Like other members of revolutionary communities, my first reaction to this book was... "*Finally!*" As a woman who chooses to take on the labels of

anarchist and feminist, it is difficult to point to many collections of women's work (besides wonderful Red Emma's) that focuses on both anarchism and feminism while also pursuing their connections. **Quiet Rumors** draws attention to the ways in which patriarchy must be addressed within anti-domination struggles, and the ways in which feminist struggles can learn and benefit from the decentralized power structures that anarchism demands.

Moving through the book from cover to cover I experienced a non-teleological schooling of anarcha-feminism. Each piece examined the deep-rooted connections, divisions, and ways in which anarchism and feminism could



learn from and support each other. Each listening to the stories and lessons of our radical foremothers, each developing strategies to create revolutionary communities. However, in all those radical pages I kept wondering...*where is the Earth in this discussion? Why only subtle references and metaphors?* I lift my black AND green flag high and exclaim that the omission is a major one. For me, green anarchism draws the important and obvious parallels between forms of domination (domination of people who are different, who think or live differently, and the domination of non-human animals/ ocean/plants - the list is long and disgusting). The parallels between the domination of the Earth and the domination of life are crucial to my understanding of anarcha-feminism, but an article making this connection explicit, is not included within the collection. I feel that it is important to acknowledge that the scars of domination all hurt differently, but that all life feels the toxic, sterilized numbing of civilization. Multiple sources of "Truth" espouse that we, humans, are not part of nature – are not part of and dependent upon our connection within the web of life. So, my only disappointment with this collection was that it did not include a fiery article making these connections, which I see as very central to anarcha-feminism, more explicit.

Overall, I think **Quiet Rumors** is an incredibly important read, whether one identifies as an anarchist and/or a feminist or not. The commentary on "structureless" groups, and the warnings given about their ability to re-create dominating power dynamics, was especially insightful (but begs for a current response). For me, the collection as a whole, stimulated self-reflection and a deeper social/cultural critique, while offering a source of inspiration. Although I was disappointed that the Earth was not more of a focus, I still feel that the use of accessible language and poignant artwork proved to be provoking after the last page. After tapping into this passionate, smoldering collection I felt like I had tasted lightning! **Quiet Rumors** offers lessons from the transitional fire of the phoenix, and from the lessons of the women who have come before us – each whispering radical notions of revolutionary potential. Asking for the conversation to be continued...

So, I would add, that Cathy Levine was right when she said that, "for anyone who has ever considered the possibility that masturbation might provide more benefits than madness a study of anarchy is highly recommended." It is just that feminists help us find the right spot!

- Rose Marie

Available from A.K. Press, \$15  
or in a pamphlet form made by **Agitation Press** from about half of the book,  
available for \$3 from P.O. Box 11331,  
Eugene, OR 97440

**One Nation Under**, by Blackfire

We got this refreshing and energetic CD when **Blackfire** played at a benefit in Eugene for various indigenous and prisoner support groups. Their performance followed an animated and provocative speech on prison, colonization, and the war-machine by Dacajeweah "Splitting the Sky" Hill, a native warrior and veteran of the Attica Prison and Gustafsen Lake rebellions. After Splitting the Sky's articulated rage, we felt the night had reached its peak, but most in attendance had no idea what **Blackfire** had in store for them. They rocked. They engaged. They inspired. **Blackfire** is made up of three siblings, from the Todich 'ii'nii clan of the Dine' Nation (navajo), born into the heart of the political land disputed area on Black Mesa. They combine a high-energy metally-punk sound with their traditional Dine' culture, and strong sociopolitical messages about governmental oppression, relocation of indigenous people,

ecocide, genocide, and domestic violence. **One Nation Under** is a collection of amazing original songs, which go deep into the heart and shred at the armor of civilization. To quote the liner notes:

*"This music is not political. This is our life struggle.*

*If you could only look past the billboards, beyond the concrete storage units "civilized" people call homes, you would see that there are cultures on the verge of extinction. This is not a page written off the past. This is happening at this moment. The Indigenous peoples of the world are still being assimilated, colonized, and facing genocide at the hands of the self-serving governments & multinational corporations that put profit over life. Our lives are evidence to these crimes against humanity; our every breath is our testimony.*

*This is a call to all people of all walks of life – our struggles are intertwined. We are all affected. We are all related, there is no*

*denying that our pasts and our futures are connected. We are all indigenous. We all have the tools to shape our future. We don't have to create or invent, just remember, acknowledge, and share. Learn all you can, question all you can, understand, and stand up for what you believe. We must see past*

*our differences. We must communicate, learn to respect one another, and work together. Our liberation is the process of defining what freedom is to us. The streets are our stage. You have the power to create change. Free the future. You are our hope."*

**For more info, contact Blackfire, P.O. Box 1492, Flagstaff, AZ 86002**  
**or check-out: [www.blackfire.net](http://www.blackfire.net)**

**The Cruise**, starring Timothy "Speed" Levitch (Produced and Directed by Bennett Miller)

I consider Hollywood to be up there with the church and the state, as far as institutions of control within modern civilization, yet even despite the techno-alienation involved, I must admit, I am drawn to film as one of the most provocative and emotional modes of expression in our time. I have come to appreciate the independent and radical film genre, and seek out poetic and meaningful films like *The Waking Life*, *Hate*, *Where The Green Ants Dream*, and even those from the cesspool of southern California like *12 Monkeys*, in an attempt to connect to a larger creativity and expression of the world we live in. That is why I can't believe it took me so long to find such a gem! Made in 1998, this beautifully produced black-and-white film takes us on an unforgettable ride, through the concrete canyons of Manhattan, with Timothy "Speed" Levitch as our tour guide. Aboard Gray Line Tours' double-decker buses, Speed shows off his beloved (yet tormenting) city while divulging in an orgy of trivial facts and caustic philosophies. From his desire to "blow-up the grid plan" and all it represents and perpetuates, to his erotic architectural analysis, to his bitterly sarcastic and insightful rantings, Tim will not bore you for a moment. He is passionate and sincere, and sometimes just plain blunt, as he uses a kaleidoscope of vocabulary to express the contradictions and potentials of life within New York City. This film is much more than a bus ride past architectural and cultural landmarks, the tour loop is part of an ongoing search for perfection as Speed attempts to "rewrite the souls" of the riders. The *Village Voice* calls Levitch, "The guy Woody Allen can only dream of being." Both a hilarious adventure and a voyage of the soul, **The Cruise** is ultimately the unending and perplexing search for worthwhile possibilities in the complex and confusing reality of modernity and civilization. A must see! **Available at even the most crappy of video stores.**

*One of the most challenging aspects of living life as a green anarchist in civilization is learning how to put theory into practice in our communities. I live in one of the most rural areas in the eastern US, in the middle of a 800,000 acre state forest, in a county with more deer than people, where I'm constantly waging war against the encroachment of civilization and for the wild. I'd like to share a brief description of one campaign we are currently fighting. (This article recently appeared in my local newspaper.)*

# welcoming the wapiti



**BY THERESA KINTZ**

*"Seven and thirty years have passed since that clear September afternoon when John Decker nailed the elk's skull to his woodshed in the remote little valley bearing his name. Terrible winters have come and gone, and the blackened bones and faded horns have been decked out with snow, and ice, and frost. Spring, Summer, and Autumn have shed their radiance on the melancholy relics, but the black sockets bespeak not a questioning. But at night, Winter or Summer, there comes a mysterious night-wind to the place, and a soft tap, tap, tap sways the mouldering skull nailed there against the shed.*

*Is it the soul of the last elk still traveling to the unknown country, where he will find his race unsullied, his beautiful mate to greet him?*

*Or is it the spirit of the wilderness, blotted out by man never to return, while our race lives, whispering of better and freer days, of vast distances and open places of beauty, justice, and truth, which were banished with that last elk?"*

(From the story **John Decker's Elk**, by Henry Shoemaker, in **Black Forest Souvenirs Collected in Northern Pennsylvania**, originally published 1914, reprinted by Gateway Press, 1991)

Shoemaker's romantic saga recounts the demise of the last elk somewhere around Sinnamahoning in the mid-1800's. His words are poignant and affective as he identifies the demise of the elk with the demise of a time in Pennsylvania history he describes as better and freer days, of vast distances and open places of beauty, justice, and truth.

The spirit of the wilderness he speaks of is still well-known and strongly felt by many of us living here in Western Clinton County. To us, the reintroduction of the elk offers an opportunity to recover something that was lost.

There are many here who want to welcome back the Wapiti (the traditional Native American name for the elk). Now it is time for those of us who cherish these magnificent animals, who appreciate their elegance and admire their majesty, who want to see the elk race and the people race living side by side once again to speak out in defense of the wild, in defense of beauty, justice, and truth.

The Eastern elk once ranged from New York to central Georgia, but colonization and exploitation by European settlers eventually led to the species' extinction in our region. Within the past few years, descendants of elk reintroduced into adjacent counties in 1913 have made their way into our area. Since then, a vocal minority purporting to reflect local sentiment has come out vehemently anti-elk, using property-rights arguments, thinking only of their own self-interests as property owners.

What about the rest of us who call Western Clinton County our home too? We have a responsibility to speak out on behalf of welcoming the elk to our region; it is their only hope for a safe future in the wild.

The elk embody the needs of the natural world: being large-ranging megafauna, the elk require vast expanses of natural habitat to be preserved, and in so doing we preserve habitat for all other species, flora and fauna alike. Restoring them and other wildlife entails facing significant challenges. Increasing human awareness and understanding of the elk and the complex relationship, both psychological and ecological, between other species and ourselves will benefit elk and humans alike.

In welcoming the elk we meet the challenge of repairing our relationship with nature. The future of elk, and in a larger sense the wild, depends on willingness to change. What we need is a new and deeper understanding and appreciation of elk and the value of all wild things. What we need is an ethic that defines conservation as a state of harmony between people, land, and wildlife within a North American culture growing ever more distant from the land.

Our intention is to fight for welcoming the Wapiti. Our dream for the future is to see a day when elk and all wildlife will be given the wild habitat they need and the respect that will allow them to live here. Our mission in short is to propagate the idea so eloquently voiced by Thoreau: "In wildness is the preservation of the world."



**Please join us.**

**(FYI - The elk range of Western Clinton County, PA, is the site of the upcoming GA gathering organized by the Black and Green Network, July 10-13, 2003)**



# Green Amazon Economics 101

## Feminist Health and Abundance Versus Capitalist Scarcity and Despair

*You can’t always get what you want...*

One wonders how often this Rolling Stones song verse is quoted by economics professors when relating the first law of the macro-economic model. That is, resources are scarce relative to human desires or needs. Often the problem is posed in two parts:

- 1. Our material *wants* are virtually unlimited or insatiable.
- 2. Economic *resources* are limited or scarce. (1)

Therefore from the beginning of the course we are asked to agree with a number of assumptions that go largely unexamined. We must assume that humans are fundamentally creatures of unlimited desire. Since this “law” precludes any economic model, then the usual picture presented is that “primitive” societies were generally composed of unhappy individuals.

More subtly, the picture presented is one in which a thick line is drawn separating two universes. One contains humans with their unlimited desires, and the other contains scarce material reality, which includes everything from minerals to plant life, to other non-human animals. The “problem” of economics, then, is how we humans are to get as much as we possibly can out of this impoverished external world, as well as how to make choices about what we may produce or consume.

Scarcity is an extraordinarily difficult subject to discuss in any general terms. After all, when we talk about limitation, the meanings shift drastically from one case to the next. Certainly there is a finite supply of fossil fuel in the world. This is not because the Earth cannot or will not produce more, but simply because the time it takes for organic material to convert into usable fuel far out-spans the scope of human life. Therefore, it is reasonable to imagine that we are using up this resource faster than it can be renewed. Sand or rocks, however, could probably never be considered a scarce resource — materials such as these are in obvious abundance. The discussion becomes more complicated when we discuss different localities. A resource could be absolutely abundant in terms of the planet — salt, for example — but scarce in a particular region at a certain point in time. The causes of such “artificial scarcities” may be political, environmental or otherwise.

What needs to be examined is not whether “resources in general” are or *are not* scarce. Clearly this question would be too broad or contradictory to be of any use. Instead, we shall explore the notion of “scarcity in general” as a basic cultural orientation indicative of Western, capitalist societies. I will argue that “scarcity” is the dominant myth that spans not only thoughts about economics, but practically all facets of life. It is employed by all power-interested groups in capitalist societies, both the right and the left. Nowhere is this more clear than in discussions about overpopulation, environmentalism and the “state of the world.” Drawing upon ecofeminist writings, I will attempt to demonstrate the ways in which discourse around “scarcity” serve to reinforce dominant notions of a definitive chasm between humans and nature, an assumption that is implicated with and parallels the various forms of oppression in the emerging global society. Finally, I will attempt to draw a distinction between scarcity and risk, as explored by various anthropologists studying hunter-gatherer societies. I will argue that risk/risk management is a cross-cultural, cross-special condition, while scarcity, as it is understood in economic and political models, is a unique manifestation of capitalist relations.

The aim here is manifold. By using ecofeminist sources to analyze an issue with which green anarchists are deeply concerned, I am attempting to forge a link between these two traditions. More specifically, I wish to address in a concrete way the utter failure of anarchists (in general) to make their critique relevant to feminism, on the one hand, and to demonstrate the relevance of feminism to anarchists, on the other. Many of the critical concerns of green anarchists, such as the population debate in regards to post/pre-civilizational society, are currently being addressed by ecofeminists in ways that green anarchists would do well to take notice.

### Scarcity and Wealth

Conceptions of “primitive” societies have always been central to civilization’s understanding of itself. Given that the structures of any society based on technology and complex networks of control must constantly be maintained, the question “why is this better?” must always be answered. It seems that everyone from Adam Smith to Karl Marx to, most recently, Murray Bookchin, agrees with the timeless “truth” expounded by Hobbes that in the “state of nature” life was “nasty, brutish and short.” Pre-civilization societies were marked, first and foremost, by *lack*. Without the existence of productive forces, Marx argues, “*only want is made general, and with want the struggle for necessities and all the old filthy business would*

*necessarily be reproduced.*” (2) Bookchin, in a similar vein, suggests that the reality of scarcity has been practically eliminated since the time of Marx, and that its appearance only persists due to capitalist forces. “*A century ago, scarcity had to be endured; today, it has to be enforced—hence the importance of the state in the present era.*” (3)

What seems to appear continuously throughout discussions of scarcity, from macroeconomics textbooks to socialist or anarchist philosophy, is a persistent dualistic pattern of thought that enriches one aspect and impoverishes the other. Therefore human desires are abundant, non-human resources are scarce. Human technology produces abundance, whereas pre-technology societies are, by definition, impoverished. Dualistic thinking has long been criticized by feminists who first recognized a relationship between the domination of nature by man, and woman by man. As Maria Mies argues, “*capitalist patriarchy or ‘modern’ civilization is based on a cosmology and anthropology that structurally dichotomizes reality, and hierarchically*



*opposes the two parts to each other: the one always considered superior, always thriving, and progressing at the expense of the other. Thus, nature is subordinated to man; woman to man; consumption to production; and the local to the global, and so on.*” (4)

On the other hand, there is little doubt that the current relationship of humans to the environment, particularly in industrial or post-industrial societies, is unsustainable in the long term. That is, even if nature is not “naturally” scarce, it may soon become so. An important point, however, is that from the perspective of “civilization,” scarcity is not something that results from the disruption of organic systems. Instead, scarcity is a *pre-existent reality*. Scarcity is a natural absence to be filled, a wild state to be conquered. Scarcity is what comes *before* the technological state, never a *result* of it. This may help explain why current models of capitalist development seem fundamentally blind to ecological concerns. In terms of economic indicators, only the measurable can be considered wealth. Ironically, it is only when resources become scarce that they become measurable.

As Vandana Shiva observes, “the conventional paradigm of development perceives poverty only in terms of an absence of Western consumption patterns, or in terms of cash incomes and is therefore unable to grapple with self-provisioning economies, or to include the poverty created by their destruction through development.” (5) She continues by drawing a distinction between “poverty as subsistence and poverty as deprivation.” In terms of capitalist indicators, a fully self-sustaining hunter-gatherer society, whose inhabitants enjoy fewer work hours and greater leisure time than most Americans, would be designated as impoverished; while these same individuals, displaced from their land and forced into urban wage-slavery, would become “wealthier” in capitalist terms even if their overall quality of life diminished.

In a similar way, the colonial mind tends to see all the diversity of a rich and thriving ecosystem as merely a blank slate upon which civilization may constitute anew. All the local knowledges, practices, rhythms and life processes are diminished as “primitive” or “unproductive,” and in their

place, patriarchal-capitalist relations are established by force. The problems that inevitably result, if they are recognized at all, are merely “externalities.” These sorts of contradictions are only compounded when the colonial mind attempts to solve the problems its practices have themselves created (i.e. with “modernizing technologies”).

### Population

Nowhere are discussions around scarcity more poignant for ecofeminists and green anarchists than within the debates around overpopulation. Interwoven into this single issue are a multiplicity of discourses about capitalism, women’s rights and knowledges, the well-being of the environment, and the future of all humanity. Since Malthus first brought this issue to the world’s attention in his 1798 *Essay on Population*, those on the right and the left have been asking: Is there *enough* for all of us? Will there always be *enough*?

Not surprisingly, women’s bodies have become the ground upon which these battles are fought. Carol Merchant identifies just a few of the more incendiary sites in recent years:

*“In rural China, an attempt to reduce population by a government policy of limiting families to one child resulted in the widespread abortion of female fetuses, brought about by an age-old agrarian preference for male labor. In India, Indira Gandhi’s policy of pressuring sterilization of government employees after three offspring produced a backlash against its family planning program. In the United States, a woman’s right to choose to abort a fetus versus the right of the fetus to life has become a major political issue in all elections, and in the presidential appointments to the Supreme Court.”* (6)

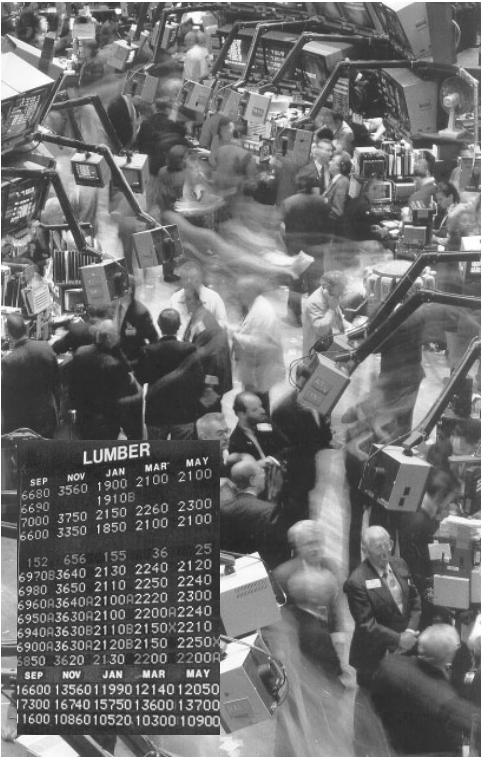
Population growth is often framed as the single cause of all environmental problems. The latest report by the United Nations Fund for Population Action (UNFPA), The State of the World Population 1990, states:

*“For any given type of technology, for any given level of consumption or waste, for any given level of poverty or inequality, the more people there are the greater the impact on the environment.”* (7)

Again, the familiar dichotomy appears. The picture presented is a mechanistic one in which the capacity for human reproduction is presumed to be limitless, and the resources of the non-human environment are finite. Despite the obvious internal contractions in the above statement, a simple formula is derived. More humans = less environment. Differences in ecological consciousness, patterns of consumption and the presence of domination are all dismissed as factors completely unrelated to the state of the non-human environment.

Much of the energy that would be committed to lessening high-income countries’ “ecological footprint,” then, is instead devoted to lessening the quantitative increase of population growth. This means, then, that low-income countries become a target, and within those countries, women in particular. The real results of these policies have been consistently harmful to women’s bodies. Most contraceptives produced in the global South have continued to have detrimental or destructive side effects. Forced or secretive sterilization programs for women have been widespread. In India and Bangladesh, women have been used as test subjects, without their knowledge, of experimental hormonal contraceptives. The most disturbing aspect is that many of these programs have been promoted using the marketing rhetoric of “reproductive freedom” taken from women’s rights movements in the global North. (8)

One of the more provocative and progressive approaches to the population debate was suggested by Paul and Ann Ehrlich in *The Population Explosion* (1990). They argued that reduced population depends primarily upon five factors: adequate nutrition, proper sanitation, basic health care, education of women, and equal rights of women. (9) Although the general point they are making may be extremely helpful, one could argue that this theory still invites a form of cultural imperialism whereby high income countries provide the model for what constitutes “education” or “equal rights.”



Nonetheless, the basic idea behind their argument may lead to some fruitful grounds for debate. The theory suggests that a non-dominating society, which nurtures choice *and* knowledge for every member, will also be one that is in harmony with its natural environment. This makes particular sense in the context of women’s autonomy, for many ecofeminist writers have drawn a strong link between women’s consciousness and the conditions of the non-human, natural world. These writers “*recognize that the impact of the degradation of the environment affects women in a different way, because as women they are part of the same ecosystem that is dominated and exploited irrationally.*” Writing about Central America, Mercedes Canas reveals:

“*In the rural areas... women fetch and use water for the household, and women gather the wood for heating and cooking. Women, therefore, are the most affected by the deterioration of water systems and tree conservation.*” (10)

One may argue convincingly, then, that women do not actively participate in the destruction of the environment in any way comparable to the practices of multinational corporations (which tend to be headed by men of the first world). Nonetheless, women disproportionately experience the *effects* of that destruction. It makes sense, then, that given choices over their own reproduction, women have both the knowledge and understanding necessary to determine the rate of population growth appropriate to a given locality. Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, developing a “new ecology of reproduction,” encourage an ecofeminist perspective, which is:

“*...not to look at reproduction in isolation, but to see it in the light of men-women relations, the sexual division of labor, sexual relations, and the overall economic, political and social situation, all of which, at present, are influenced by patriarchal and capitalist ideology and practice. Therefore a primary demand is that women regain greater autonomy with regard to their sexuality and procreative practices.*” (11)

Risk and Scarcity

While capitalist-patriarchal institutions tend to produce or exacerbate environmental scarcities through their conceptual understandings of “wealth” or “development,” it would be naive to suggest that all such difficulties flow from these forces. After all, not all floods are the result of World Bank dam projects, nor are all famines caused by the deforestation practices of timber or meat industries. Hunter-gatherer communities of the past and present have been forced to deal with all manner of local scarcities resulting from natural disasters or the unavailability of certain dietary necessities, even where interaction with capitalist-patriarchal structures was minimal or nil.

Much work has been done to study the strategies by which hunter-gatherer societies manage risk or uncertainty resulting from the organic rhythms of their natural environment. One such study was conducted by Raymond Hames, who conducted a study of the Yanomamo Indians of southern Venezuela and northern Brazil. (12) Hames employed various forms of quantitative analysis to study the adaptive procedures by which this society managed a local protein deficiency that could only be supplemented by the hunting of small or large game. Since hunting was considered a “high-risk” activity, with heavy variance in yield from one day to the next, Hames expected to find the most developed adaptive behavior to be centered around these activities.

Hames suggested that there were three possible adaptations to a limited availability of protein resources. The first was the storage of surplus by individual members of the community. This practice, however, was rarely employed due to the high costs of maintaining the meat for more than a couple of days. These costs included the large amounts of firewood needed to smoke the meat, as well as the energy expended in protecting the meat from other life forms (human or otherwise). The second possibility was to expand the breadth of diet intake, and to include



lower-ranked game species in the hunting practice. This was seen as inefficient in the long term, however, due to the extra time required to hunt game that provided little protein. The third possibility was to increase sharing practices among hunters, such that the day-to-day variance of hunting yields would be alleviated by an equitable distribution throughout the community.

His findings indicated that this third option was the one practiced most frequently by the Yanomamo Indians.

“*It is clear that risk has some utility in explaining variation in scope and frequency of exchange among the Yanomamo Indians. Sharing is an adaptive mechanism to reduce the variance in consumption of wild and cultivated resources.*” (13)

In fact, this conclusion concurs with the findings of several other anthropologists studying in the field of risk and uncertainty. The shortages that inevitably appear in the organic rhythms of any ecosystem do not necessarily, as they seem to in our own culture, result in vast disparities of wealth or power. On the contrary, these sorts of scarcities are merely a part of the “risky business of life,” which all species share. Instead of fracturing societies, these sorts of uncertainties solidify the organic ties within the community and encourage a strategy of collective, rather than individual, survival.

It is essential, then, that a distinction is drawn between risk and scarcity. Risk is a timeless experience that flows from the inherent uncertainty of all life, and shared by all species. While this ever-present risk does not always lead to cooperative, collective survival strategies, neither does it necessarily lead to the form of competitive, dominating society that capitalist-patriarchal discourses around scarcity would lead us to believe. In fact, scarcity as it appears in the capitalist model, and counterposed by ecological critiques, is an entirely other principle. Scarcity is at once the devaluation of all non-human, non-male life characteristic of capitalist-patriarchal relations, and its critique: the artificial shortages that directly result from this systematic devaluation. Therefore, it may be said that while risk is simply a part of life, scarcity as we understand it is a direct result of our current economic and social relations.

Hope

Ecofeminists throughout the world and across cultures have drawn the world’s attention to the worst behaviors and patterns of thought endemic of Western capitalist-patriarchal culture. Interestingly enough, these writers seem to be the same ones who offer the most hope for a non-dominating, sustainable future in which all humans can co-exist peacefully and meaningfully with the natural world that surrounds them.

Most ecofeminists agree with green anarchists that, in order to preserve our own lives on this planet and the lives that surround us, we must cease the destructive practices that result directly from certain ways of thinking, and particular habits of thought. Therefore, it is the responsibility of each and every human to uncover the ways in which patriarchal-capitalist forms of domination, or hierarchical thinking, are reproduced in our own daily lives. Charlene Spretnak provides one path in her discussions of radical nonduality, which she describes as “*a dynamic system of relations wherein any particular manifestation functions simultaneously as a distinct part and the unbroken whole.*”

“*The parts are not derivative of the whole, nor vice versa. Each aspect constitutes the other. Metaphors of a web or a net are often used by nondualists, but they seem to me not quite dynamic enough to convey the subtle processes of wholeness and diversity, of nonduality and particularity.*” (15)

In practical terms, this means that distinction between man and woman, humans and nature, or even self or other are allowed to break down, or at least change meaning. While the constitutive wholeness of each individual part is preserved, all whole parts are also understood as part of a still larger whole. In this way, individuals should become more receptive to sharing and reciprocity, both within a community as well as in communion with the Earth. Furthermore, radical nondualistic thinking would discourage the practices of capitalist-patriarchal institutions, which not only marginalize women within androcentric societies, but also divide woman from her own body, alienating her from her own reproductive organs.

Dualistic thinking has itself provided the sense of lack, of scarcity and of a separation between ourselves and nature. Economics steps in to fill the artificial scarcity and of a separation between ourselves and nature. Economics steps in to fill the artificial scarcity that results from a society ordered around the division between “nature” and “civilization”. In “From Heroic to Holistic Ethics: The Ecofeminist Challenge,” Marti Kheel discusses the two symbolizations that have traditionally been used in Western culture to describe the non-human world (or “nature”). (16) Either nature is a beast to be destroyed or subdued, or nature is an inanimate lifeless matter. The myth of scarcity functions alongside both of these



images. While we may despise, fear or dismiss the workings of the natural world, we as humans still depend upon it because we are still, in reality, a part of nature. It is the notion of our separation that allows us to perceive “scarcity” as our general orientation to the natural world. What could be more frightening than the prospect that nature will fail us, that at any moment its wild, random workings will not provide enough to sustain us? In response to this fear, humans have developed everything from agriculture, to pasteurization, to refrigeration, to hormones, to genetic modifications. All of these developments in technology are centered about a fear of scarcity, that nature left to its own wild ways may not provide *enough*.

Returning to the Rolling Stones verse, we find that we certainly cannot get everything we want, but we are all interdependently connected in a world that is capable of providing all we need. The process of realizing this interdependence will be a slow one indeed, but it can begin by affirming the local knowledge where this understanding is already present — i.e. indigenous communities. In a patriarchal-capitalist society that only

recognizes the knowledge produced in laboratories and libraries, the obstacles are formidable indeed. The fact that these realizations are being made at all, however, both within ecofeminism and green anarchism, is our first glimmer of hope. Ultimately we may discover that our capacity to nurture this hope is inextricably linked with our chances to live peacefully, humans and all life, on this great *whole* planet Earth.

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# The Expansion of the Machine Fragment 13

from "the Garden of Peculiarities"

Colonization has been nothing more than the expansion of capital and technological thinking through the culture of standardization on a world-wide scale. This practice reached its apex with European expansion. From the beginning of the 20th Century it unleashed its destructive power with the appearance of imperialism: the oligopolic phase of capitalism. This isn't, however, a phenomenon tied exclusively to nation and ethnicity building (at least not in this stage of so-called "globalization"). For the first time in recorded or remembered history a single group of individuals controls on a transnational scale a worldwide machine capable of annihilating the planet and extinguishing the life of many of its creatures, among them, human beings. This colonial stage has a monetary drive whose basis is ideological. Capital needs to standardize lifestyles, cultural values, architecture, language, landscape, thinking, etc. It looks to, in sum, make uniform the perception of reality, thus assuring its own permanent expansion. Its ideological foundation, which rationalizes conquest as an index of growth, assigns a positive value to the expansionist drive. Growth for growth's sake, invading to invade, and eternal expansion are the axes that form the rationale for expansion. They also constitute the logic of capital, which grows and spreads until it consumes and destroys all of those host organisms that allow and shelter life on the planet. Expansion is, without doubt, the ideology of cancer, which will not stop until it reaches an implacable metastasis.

by Jesús Sepúlveda



# THE DOCTOR IS SICK:

## SCHIZOPHRENIA, ANTI-PSYCHIATRY & ANARCHISM

BY DAVID JAMES

*They are playing a game.  
They are playing at not playing a game.  
If I show them I see they are,  
I break the rules and they will punish me.  
I must play their game,  
Of not seeing I see the game.*

—R.D. Laing, M.D. *Knots*, 1974  
Antipsychiatry psychiatrist

*Our greatest gifts come to us by way of madness.*  
—Plato (Phaedrus)

One of the issues many anarchists seem reluctant to talk about, is mental health, and how psychiatry does some of the dirtiest work in keeping this horrible oppressive system going.

Psychiatric survivors face oppression even within anarchist circles and scenes. People who have emotional problems or different levels of consciousness about their lives are called wingnuts and ostracized. People labeled “schizophrenic” who stop taking their medication at the Rainbow Gathering (or almost anywhere else for that matter) are not usually shown support and respect for their decision. CALM (The Center for Alternative Living Medicine) often sends such people from the National Gatherings every year to local psychiatric wards, where they experience something a lot different than peace and love.

It’s called involuntary psychiatric treatment. And it is not acceptable. Nobody deserves to be forced to take psychiatric drugs against their will, or to be given electroshock without consent, or to be locked up in any kind of fucking cage.

In this article, I’m going to focus on schizophrenia. What is “schizophrenia,” exactly? The Greek etymology means “broken soul” or “broken heart.” According to the World Health Organization, 58-116 million people around the world today have experienced an “acute schizophrenic break syndrome.” Many describe falling into a kind of abyss of isolation. This happens because there is a huge discrepancy between the subjective inner world that they’ve been swept into, and the mundane everyday world outside. There seems to be a total gulf between these two. This is exactly what happens in our society: the individuals around such a person have absolutely no trust in what is going on! So everything is set up negatively, and this gives rise to fear and misunderstandings on both sides.

*“It seems that without exception the experience and behavior that gets labeled “schizophrenic” is a special strategy that a person invents in order to live in an unlivable situation. In his life situation, the person has come to feel that his is an untenable position. He cannot make a move, or make no move, without being beset by contradictory and paradoxical pressures and demands, pushes and pulls, both internally from himself and externally from those around him. He is as it were in a position of checkmate.”*

—R.D. Laing

R.D. Laing argues that it is impossible to see a patient as a bundle of symptoms or as an organism and to understand his existential position. If we try to understand the existential phenomenology of the person termed schizophrenic, it is no help to relate to the barriers s/he has put up to the world or within himself, with further barriers.

For example, if someone describes themselves as dead, they may be describing the truth of their existence as they experience it. But this would not be acceptable to most psychiatrists. It is difficult to recognize the schizophrenic’s “despairing aloneness and isolation,” Laing says.

He describes the agony of what is labeled a “schizophrenic break”: “His body: this place of rage, terror, desire and despair. This place of life, which is too harrowing and too fraught with too many conflicts and contradictions that entangle him, that he cannot resolve or transcend. What does he do? He withdraws from his body. He dissociates himself from it. He refuses to be it, live it, inhabit it, permeate it with himself.”

No one is arguing that “schizophrenia” is in no way biological. But drawing a correlation between biology and “schizophrenic” behaviors in no way makes such behaviors meaningless. If you examine these behaviors phenomenologically, they can be understood as an individual’s attempt to contend with her frightening existential condition, perched in a horrifying age trapped in the death throes of a murderous global civilization. If everyone who becomes aware of the true nature of the horrifying times in which we live is diagnosed schizophrenic, drugged, and institutionalized, it will certainly imperil any sort of conscious evolution towards a wild, free, sustainable human society.

In his book *The Politics of Experience*, Laing argues that in his using the term “schizophrenia,” he is not referring to any condition that he supposes to be mental rather than physical, or to an illness, but to a label that some people pin on other people under certain social circumstances. The “cause” of “schizophrenia” is to be found by the examination, not of the prospective diagnosis alone, but the whole social context in which the “psychiatric ceremony” is being conducted.

He continues, saying that, in effect, there is no such “condition” as “schizophrenia,” but the label is a social fact and the social fact is a political event.

In Victor Barbetti’s essay “Classification and the Treatment of the Patient,” he critiques the system of classification, saying:

“In classification we seek to concentrate or group data according to similarities. In caring for another person, we seek to open up a world that is already too constricted and indifferent to their individuality. With one we sharpen our focus and induce structures; with the other, we look for freedom where it appears there is little or none.”

He goes on: “Classification systems such as DSM are the products of political and historical processes

(such as capitalism, racism, statism, Christianity, and patriarchy). These processes valorize tacit prescriptions for what is or is not considered ‘sane’ or ‘normal’.”

According to Kirk and Kutchins, the work of creating, maintaining, and perfecting a classification system has at no time in our history been initiated by working clinicians. Why? Because good clinicians are aware that no matter how many diagnostic categories one can hang around the neck of a patient, healing takes place in a realm without judgments.

Neuroleptic drugs (including Haldol, Thorazine, Resperidal, Zyprexa, etc) prescribed for “schizophrenia” cause severe

damage. More than fifty percent of people treated with them (the newer drugs cause less, but inflict more tardive psychosis, or damage to the higher regions of the brain) develop a horrible disease called tardive dyskinesia, which causes twitches and spasms of the face, mouth, tongue, neck, shoulders, back, arms,

legs, hands and feet. (American Psychiatric Association, 1992; Breggin, 1983; 1990; 1991). The muscles of respiration and speech can also be impaired. Other closely related, untreatable neurological disorders include tardive akathisia (painful feelings of inner tension and anxiety and a compulsive drive to move the body). Tardive dystonia involves muscle spasms, frequently of the face, neck and shoulders, and it too can be disfiguring, disabling and agonizing.

There are no accurate surveys of the total number of people afflicted with tardive dyskinesia. There are probably a million or more tardive dyskinesia patients in the United States today, and tens of millions have been afflicted throughout the world since the inception of neuroleptic treatment. Long-term neuroleptic use is associated with both cognitive deterioration and atrophy of the brain. Those who defend neuroleptic use claim that schizophrenia itself causes this degeneration. They are wrong. More than 100 years of autopsied brain studies of persons labeled as schizophrenic failed to show any such damage, until the recent advent of neuroleptics. That’s not the worst of it. In a few people the neuroleptic reaction goes massively out of control, causing neuroleptic malignant syndrome, an acute inflammation of the brain comparable to lethargic encephalitis, which can be fatal.

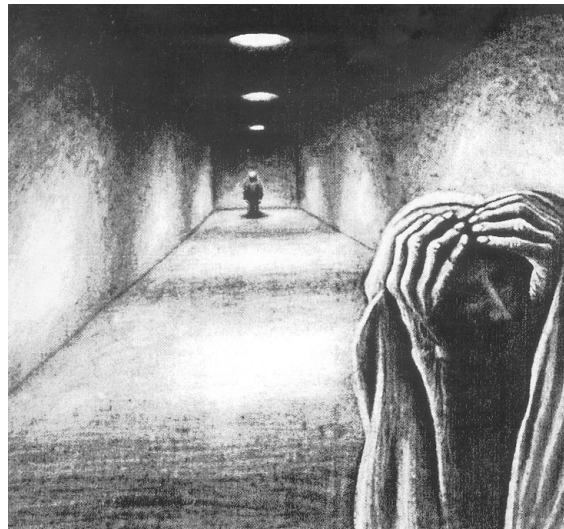
How do neuroleptics “work”? They suppress the transmission of dopamine in the brain. Frontal lobe activity is also suppressed — the effect is that of a chemical lobotomy. The victim becomes weak and tired. Their will is crushed; they become passive and docile. They become more “manageable” and complain less.

There is no proof that neuroleptics have any effect on so-called psychotic symptoms, such as hallucinations and delusions. The neuroleptics mainly suppress outrage, rebelliousness, and spontaneous activity in general. This is why they are effective and employed whenever and wherever social control is desired: in mental hospitals, nursing homes, prisons, institutions, clinics, and political detention camps. This widespread use makes the claim that they are specific for “schizophrenia” ridiculous. (They are even used in veterinary medicine to subdue animals.)

Controlled studies by Loren Mosher have shown that those diagnosed with acute schizophrenia improve better without medication by living in a home-like setting (if not a home)

with “non-professional” people who know how to listen and to care. They become more autonomous, and do not get tardive dyskinesia or neuroleptic malignant syndrome.

There’s no convincing evidence that schizophrenia is a biochemical disorder. The only biochemical imbalances proven to exist in the brains of mental patients are those caused by the drugs. Neither is there substantial evidence for a genetic basis of schizophrenia. Psychiatrists make their money prescribing drugs. If they were to reject the biochemical model and the coercion it implies, they would be unable to compete with psychosocial counselors who charge less. And so the American Psychiatric Association entered into a “partnership” with the drug companies. Organized psychiatry has become wholly dependent for financial support on the pharmaceutical industry. So today, the pharmaceutical companies advertise psychiatric drugs and the psychiatrists, also bought and paid for, dispense them.



How, then, can we understand and care for those undergoing emotional pain and anguish? Should we think of them as “wingnuts” or “schizophrenics” or defective objects or as human beings struggling with existential, political, emotional and social problems and personal conflict? Should we drug them into submission, toss them in the asylum; or try to understand and let them empower themselves, and even learn from them?

But if we are trying to find a better way to support people in emotional pain, where do we begin? The most important part is to respect the freedom of whoever you’re trying to help. If they don’t want your help, fuck off. All well-meaning interventions will eventually lead to the horrible state of affairs we have now. If we want to call ourselves anarchists, we should realize that we cannot trust any person to have power over any other person. Unequal power relationships do not lead to healing. I’ve spent more than a year of my life living with various people around the United States who were diagnosed schizophrenic and forced to take neuroleptics against their will. I helped them to stop taking them, helped them through the withdrawal, and made sure nobody tried to force them back into the system.

Laing says that, as a therapist, one has to be able to orient oneself as a person in the other’s scheme of things rather than only to see the other as an object in one’s own world, i.e. within the total system of one’s own reference. One must be able to effect this reorientation without prejudging who is right and who is wrong.

Details aside, one thing is very clear to him: Any technique concerned with the other without the self, with behavior to the exclusion of experience, with the relationship to the neglect of the persons in relation, with the individuals to the exclusion of their relationship, and most of all, with an object-to-be-changed rather than a person-to-be-accepted, simply perpetuates the disease it purports to cure. (p. 53)

Laing: *It is more a mark of one’s humanity to be able to just be with someone, no matter what state they are in, without needing to act on them in some way, without attempting to change them to suit one’s own book, so to speak, and yet still vibrantly alive to their humanity. But if the distressed and desperate states which are conventionally known as “mental illness” arise out of our conduct towards one another, then their resolution too must issue from this interface between people, out of a healing common ground that can be established through a therapeutic relationship.*

That leaves us with one final area to explore: the possibility that some of what is described or diagnosed as “schizophrenia” is, in fact, a breakthrough rather than a breakdown. I’m not claiming that everyone that is diagnosed “schizophrenic” is experiencing a kind of supersanity, or returning to an earlier sanity that has largely been discarded by civilization, but I feel that there are certain people who do or did seem to give some credence to this idea.

At any rate, normal people are not “sane” by any stretch of the imagination. So, I’ll wrap up this article by exploring some writings about some “schizophrenics” experiencing what’s described as a sort of primitive sanity.

R.D. Laing argues that the condition of normal people is a condition of alienation, of being asleep, of being unconscious, of being out of their minds. He goes on:

*Society highly values its normal man. (sic) It educates children to lose themselves and to become absurd, and thus to be normal. Normal men have killed perhaps 100,000,000 of their fellow normal men in the last fifty years.*

*Long before a thermonuclear war can come about, we have had to lay waste to our own sanity. We begin with the children. It is imperative to catch them in time. Without the most thorough and rapid brainwashing their dirty minds would see through our dirty tricks. Children are not yet fools, but we shall turn them into imbeciles like ourselves, with high I.Q.s if possible...*

The psychiatrist’s authority, combined with his perception of the person’s “deviant” praxis as “illness,” imposes almost inescapably a reifying self-concept on the latter; Foucault (1967) captures this process in a single phrase, when he speaks of the patient as “alienated in the doctor.”

R.D. Laing claims: *“If the human race survives, future men (sic) will, I suspect, look back on our enlightened epoch as a veritable Age of Darkness... They will see that what was considered “schizophrenic” was one of the forms in which, often through quite ordinary people, the light began to break into our all-too-closed minds.”*

John Weir Perry has similar feelings:

*“It is justifiable to regard the term ‘sickness’ as pertaining not to the acute turmoil but to the pre-psychotic personality, standing as it does in need of profound reorganization. In this case, the renewal process occurring in the acute psychotic episode may be considered nature’s way of seeing things right.”*

Michael O’Callaghan gave a speech in New York in 1992, in which he elaborated on the acute “schizophrenic break” as an inner Apocalypse of the psyche:

*“Despite mainstream psychoanalysis, authoritarian religions, repressive societies, and a pharmaceutical-medical industry which still misinterpret the condition as mental breakdown, a growing body of scientific evidence indicates that the natural*

*function of this visionary episode is one of personal healing, artistic inspiration, and social renewal.*

*Few people are aware that the ‘schizophrenic break’ — when not artificially blocked by medical intervention — is a temporary phenomenon. The acute visionary phase naturally lasts for about forty days, after which the psyche gradually returns to a normal state of consciousness. The interesting thing is that the visionary content of the acute phase centers around the destruction and reintegration of the ego, symbolized not only by powerful hallucinations of personal death and rebirth, but also by an overwhelming subjective experience of Apocalypse and the end of time.”*

Willis Harman further elaborates on an optimistic note: *“All we have learned of psychotherapy suggests that it is at the precise time when the individual feels as if his whole life is crashing down around him, that he is most likely to achieve an inner reorganization constituting a quantum leap in his growth toward maturity. Our hope, our belief, is that it is precisely when society’s future seems so beleaguered — that it is most likely to achieve a metamorphosis in society’s growth toward maturity, toward more truly enhancing and fulfilling the human spirit than ever before.”*

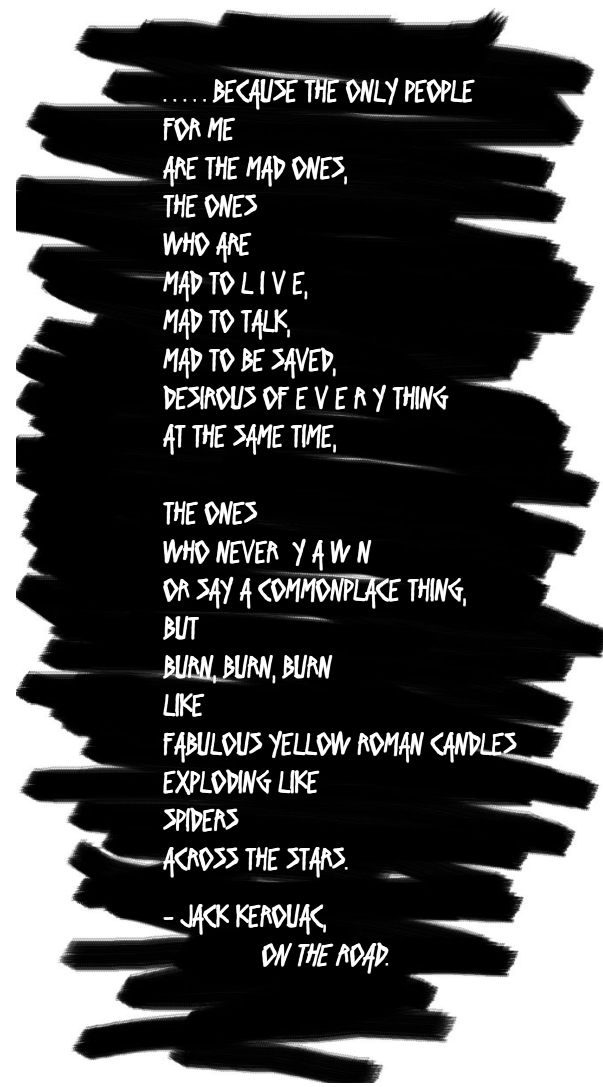
**WARNING:** When trying to withdraw from many psychiatric drugs, people can develop serious and even life-threatening emotional and physical reactions. In short, it is dangerous not only to start taking psychiatric drugs, but also it can be hazardous to stop taking them. You should **NOT** stop taking them all at once. I recommend trying to find a copy of *How and Why to Stop Taking Psychiatric Drugs* by Drs. Peter Breggin and David Cohen and *Toxic Psychiatry* also by Peter Breggin, which is a good starting point for learning about the psychopharmaceutical-industrial complex and the psychiatric survivor movement. **Also, check out [www.mindfreedom.org](http://www.mindfreedom.org) and [www.antipsychiatry.org](http://www.antipsychiatry.org).**



**A**t this juncture, the entire planet is locked, figuratively, in a room with the socio-cultural equivalent of Hannibal Lecter. An individual of consummate taste and refinement, imbued with delible grace and charm, he distracts his victims with the brilliance of his intellect, even while honing his blade. He is thus able to dine alone upon their livers, his feast invariably candlelit, accompanied by lofty music and a fine wine. Over and over the ritual is repeated, always hidden, always denied in order that it may be continued. So perfect is Lecter’s pathology that, from the depths of his scorn for the inferiors upon whom he feeds, he advances himself as their sage and therapist, he who is incomparably endowed with the ability to explain their innermost meanings, he professes to be their savior. His success depends upon being embraced and exalted by those upon whom he preys. Ultimately, so long as Lecter is able to retain his mask of omnipotent gentility, he can never be stopped. The socio-cultural equivalent of Hannibal Lecter is the core of an expansionist European “civilization” which has reached out to engulf the planet.

In coming to grips with Lecter, it is of no useful purpose to engage in sympathetic biography, to chronicle the nuances of his childhood, and catalogue his many and varied achievements, whether real or imagined. The recounting of such information is at best diversionary, allowing him to remain at large just that much longer. More often, it inadvertently serves to perfect his mask, enabling him not only to maintain his enterprise, but to pursue it with ever more arrogance and efficiency. At worst, the biographer is aware of the intrinsic evil lurking beneath the subject’s veneer of civility, but, deliberately obfuscates the truth in order that his homicidal activities may continue unchecked. The biographer thus reveals not only a willing complicity in the subject’s crimes, but a virulent pathology of his or her own. Such is and has always been the relationship of “responsible scholarship” to expansionist Europe and its derivative societies.

The sole legitimate function of information compiled about Lecter is that which will serve to unmask him and thereby lead to his apprehension. The purpose of apprehension is not to visit retribution upon the psychopath - he is, after all, by definition mentally ill and consequently not in control of his more lethal impulses - but to put and end to his activities. It is even theoretically possible that, once he is disempowered, he can be cured. The point, however, is to understand



..... BECAUSE THE ONLY PEOPLE  
FOR ME  
ARE THE MAD ONES,  
THE ONES  
WHO ARE  
MAD TO LIVE,  
MAD TO TALK,  
MAD TO BE SAVED,  
DESIROUS OF E V E R Y THING  
AT THE SAME TIME,

THE ONES  
WHO NEVER Y A W N  
OR SAY A COMMONPLACE THING,  
BUT  
BURN, BURN, BURN  
LIKE  
FABULOUS YELLOW ROMAN CANDLES  
EXPLODING LIKE  
SPIDERS  
ACROSS THE STARS.

- JACK KEROUAC  
ON THE ROAD.

## THE SPECTER OF HANNIBAL LECTER BY WARD CHRUCHILL

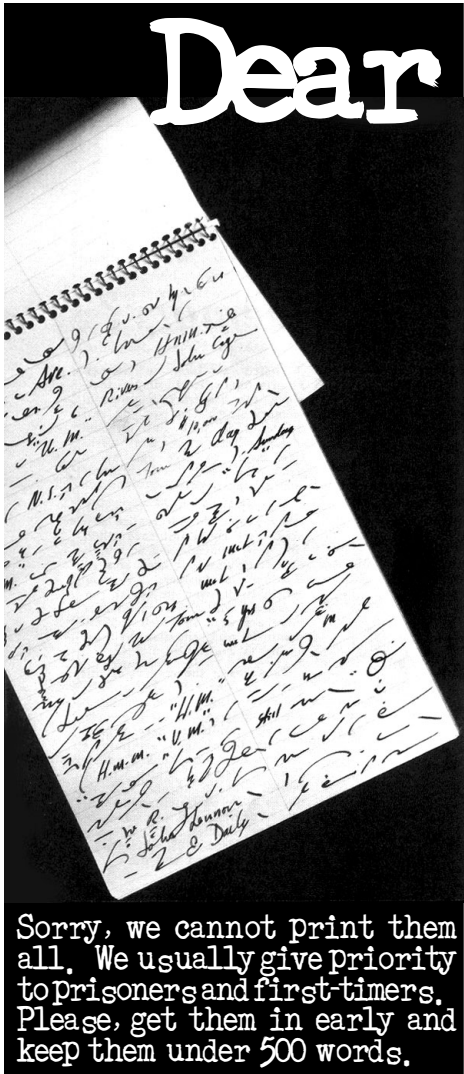
what he is and what he does well enough to stop him from doing it. This is the role which must be assumed by scholarship vis-à-vis Eurosupremacy, if scholarship itself is to have any positive and constructive meaning. Scholarship is *never* “neutral” or “objective”; it *always* works either for the psychopath or against him, to mystify socio-cultural reality or to decode it, to make corrective action possible or to prevent it.

It may well be that there are better points of departure for intellectual endeavors to capture the real form and meaning of Eurocentrism than the life, times, and legacy of Christopher Columbus. Still, since Eurocentrists the world over have so evidently clasped hands in utilizing him as a (perhaps *the*) preeminent signifier of their collective heritage, and are doing so with such an apparent sense of collective jubilation, the point has been rendered effectively moot. Those who seek to devote their scholarship to apprehending the psychopath who sits in our room thus have no alternative but to use him as a primary vehicle of articulation. In order to do so, we must approach him through deployment of the analytical tools which allow him to be utilized as a medium of explanation, a lens by which to shed light upon phenomena such as the mass psychologies of fascism and racism, a means by which to shear Eurocentrism of its camouflage, exposing its true contours, revealing the enduring coherence of the dynamics which forged its evolution.

Perhaps through such efforts we can begin to genuinely comprehend the seemingly incomprehensible fact that so many groups are presently queuing up to associate themselves with a man from whose very memory wafts the cloying stench of tyranny and genocide. From there, it may be possible to at last crack the real codes of meaning underlying the sentiments of the Nuremberg rallies, those spectacles on the plaza of Rome during which fealty was pledged to Mussolini, and that amazing red-white-and-blue, tie-a-yellow-ribbon frenzy gripping the US public much more lately. If we force ourselves to see things clearly, we can understand. If we can understand, we can apprehend, if we can apprehend, perhaps we can stop the psychopath before he kills again. We are obligated to try, from a sense of sheer self-preservation, if nothing else. Who knows, we may even succeed. But first we must stop lying to ourselves, or allowing others to do the lying for us, about who it is with whom we now share our room.

Excerpt from “*Since Predator Came: Notes on the Struggle for American Indian Liberation*”





# Dear Green Anarchy,

## Settin' Us Straight From Greece

**Hello from Greece,**

I would like to make a comment about your "Anarchist Resistance" web page. No need to say that it is very positive to cover news from Greece, but unfortunately there is false information in one of them. I am referring to "20 October, Greece: Anarchists Vandalize University".

1. The School of Mathematics and Physics indeed was occupied. The occupation started on Friday 01 November and finished on early morning of Sunday 3 November. The reason for the occupation was not a solidarity action to the anti-authoritarian struggler Yiannis Serifis. The reason was that the administration of the University had kept the doors of the school locked, even though it was announced that an anarchist three-day event was going to take place. The event was organized by "Sintehniaplin" ([www.disobey.net/syntehniaplin/](http://www.disobey.net/syntehniaplin/)), an anarchist antiauthoritarian art collective. "The 3-day Event Against Trade and Spectacle" included conversations, theater plays and concerts.

2. The event was attended, on 2<sup>nd</sup> November, by one thousand people (personal estimation) and not by 200 as media said. Of course the organizers and the majority of the people that attended were in solidarity to Y. Serifis and every imprisoned struggler. Since the event was organized and announced prior to Y.S. arrest could not be a solidarity action. But there were spray-painted slogans, posters, leaflets, and chants for Y. Serifis' liberation. No damages were made apart from spray-painted slogans. The organizers had cleaned the room that was used.

3. The rector claimed that there were damages of 30,000 euros. He did so, because when there are damages the Ministry of Education cover the expenses. In that case the rector would spend a part of the money for the University and put in his pocket the rest of them. Anarchists responded with a poster showing the image of the rector, and explaining what really had happened.

4. The media lied because they wanted to create terror-climate ([www.infoshop.org/inews/stories.php?story=02/11/04/7612891](http://www.infoshop.org/inews/stories.php?story=02/11/04/7612891)). The attempt of denigration of the anarchist movement and radical left has started a long time now, with a very characteristic case being the one of Yiannis Serifis. This attempt had taken place in order to construct negative climate for the solidarity demonstration to Y. Serifis that was called on 7<sup>th</sup> of November by the "Anarchist Initiative of Thessaloniki". 700 people despite the negative climate attended the demonstration.

In order to restore the truth, the article must be changed. There is big difference between using violent and dynamic means, as anarchists, when WE CHOOSE to, and the MEDIA LIES that aim to denigrate us. I have to admit that as one of the people that attended the event, I have felt very offended by media lies. So when I saw this article on your site I felt angry. Of course it is not your fault as the long distance between you and us makes communication indirect and difficult. In order to avoid such mistakes get information from anarchist or alternative sources. In case you get info from mainstream media crosscheck it with anarchist groups or comrades.

Many regards,  
Gaia Libertad

## Then Let's Get Busy

**Dear GA,**

While I'm writing let me just say that your zine is great. "Thinking Thru The Fall" was an awesome bit of writing. The GA primer kicked ass, too. There aren't any obvious flaws in your zine and you present your ideology quite well [although I do find it a little extreme]. The hunter/gatherer thing is too regressive for me, I'm a gardener/goat herder. But that's sustainable, right?

Points on which I do agree with you are many, however, such as revolutionary violence. Theodore Kaczynski did nothing wrong. Those who support industrialism and resource exploitation are destroying all life on earth. Their lives should not be held as sacred. On the contrary, their lives should be taken from them just as they seek to take our lives and the lives of mother earth's creatures. How can the earth survive when we have men like "Dubya" in power? Someone has to take him out. Not just him, but everyone who thinks like him. After enough of them have been exterminated it should begin to have a deterrent effect on the others. Of course, it won't be easy. They have the FBI, CIA, police, military, etc. on their side. They have a huge amount of technological might waiting to crush those who oppose them and are caught.

What I'm actually proposing is g.a. death squads. Highly trained and heavily armed soldiers carrying out assassinations of key political and industrial targets. It can be done successfully. Where as economic sabotage is merely bothersome to these "destroyers of life," executions will be terrifying and can have a great effect on the relevant circumstances. Pim Fortuyn's misfortune is a fine example. Look what happened at the polls. The only problem with this scenario is the assassin was caught (if the man in jail is indeed guilty) and this has a detrimental effect on other g.a. executioners. But sacrifices must be made, as they say.

So, you see where I am coming from. What is needed is a war on terrorism, but ours should be a war on the real terrorists. Not that I don't grieve for those who died on 9/11, but look at the atrocities the U.S. has committed or promoted in Chile, Nicaragua, Iraq and Vietnam. Should we expect anything else? It is only the chickens finally coming home to roost.

My heart goes out to those who lost loved ones. It was indeed a horrible tragedy and entirely preventable. "Dubya" was given plenty of warning but let it happen. He wanted it to happen. It boosted his ratings and gave the right wingers an excuse to pass the patriot act (which was already written, pre 9/11). We're well on our way to becoming a police state and guess who's on the hit list? Anarchists of all stripes, but especially those who practice direct action. I'm sure we'll all be labeled as anti-patriots now. Can anarchists tried before military tribunals be far behind?

We can't just sit back and wait for the revolution to happen. Hell, we are the revolution. In fact, in any basic model of revolution a political crisis must be created in addition to popular discontent and actions by a revolutionary opposition, in order for a true full-scale revolution to come about.

In the Russian Revolution the crushing blows delivered to Russia by the Germans in WWI allowed Lenin's Bolsheviks to strike and take power. Today America is situated as a highly industrialized, militarized sole superpower and defeat or near defeat by an outside

source seems very unlikely. What seems much more feasible is an economic collapse - which would weaken the government ability to act and would also incite rebellion among the proletariat. I think the question we must answer is how do we bring this about. But that is an entire debate in itself.

In addition to this difficulty is the fact that what we (as g.a.'s) are asking for in decentralization and de-industrialization is something *truly revolutionary*. Throughout history every social revolution has lead to an extreme centralization and rationalization of state institutions.

So, not only must we engineer the collapse of the mightiest empire in history, but we must also break the mold of revolution itself. This will, in all likelihood, be a long and bloody battle.

Then let's get busy. What motivates us is love. Love for the people, love for the earth, and love for life itself. The forests and the creatures can't afford to wait any longer. They're almost gone. Our time to act is now, before they tattoo bar codes on our foreheads and place GPS locators in our skulls. We have been chosen to be the monkey wrenches in the machinery of oppression, hate and destruction. I wouldn't have it any other way.

Long Live Gaia,  
-Nightshade-

## Stop the Violence!

**Dear GA,**

Since I've been in prison for self-defense against a racist idiot, I have been oppressed for my beliefs. I've been denied medical attention and the F.B.I. has been here to harass me. I've had my life put on the line many times by these fools, like them putting me on a tier with a bunch of skin heads, knowing damn well why I'm in prison, and now my photo album has been confiscated from me. It's one thing after another.

Now, I'd like to comment on some things Free wrote in a letter to the *Earth First! Journal*. It sounded like he was putting people down for what he calls whining about pepper spray and rubber bullets, and also encouraging people to pick up a gun! Well, let me say from experience of being shot 8 times, and stabbed 11 times, that picking up a gun will only make things worse. It sounds like Free is talking out of desperation, and doesn't know what he's making a call on. How many people has he shot down? Better yet, how many people and loved ones has he seen shot down or died in his arms? Let me say that I am the last one living in my family. My whole family died by the gun, and many homeboys have died in my arms. Being from Los Angeles, you can guess what kind of person I used to be, and violence only breeds more violence. Picking up a gun against the government is going to get a lot of innocent people killed. Look at what happened on 9-11, those guys killed a couple thousand people, and the government killed 10,000 in response, and we are still in Iraq. If you think life is bad now, it will get 100 times worse. Tears well up in my eyes remembering a lifetime of horror. I can go on, but I think you get the point.

I'm cutting this short, but if anyone needs to know more reasons why violence doesn't work, and will only make it worse, please contact me. I'll give you all the reasons you want, and you can believe me, because I've been there. So again, don't pick up the gun! No matter how you look at it, murder is wrong, especially of innocents. Write Me!

With my life!  
Rodney Wade #38058  
I.S.C.I., 16B-62B  
P.O. Box 14  
Boise, ID 83707

## Sparks Can Rage Into Bonfires

**Dear Green Anarchy,**

Revolutionary greetings from here in the security of housing unit (AKA "solitary"). I am a prison activist and jail house lawyer serving a three year "Shu term" for being a thorn in the side of the establishment. On the eve of a prison-wide work strike, I, and a few other so-called ring-leaders were rounded up and told we were suspected of a prison murder. Their plan worked; with our "example" the movement died at that prison and it killed two birds with one stone, cause now I am stuck in the hole, the better for them to throw obstacles in my prison-litigation path. But if there's one thing this last twelve years in prison has taught me, is patience. Every dog has his day, and I'll be ready when mine comes.

If nothing else, this time in the dungeon has given me the chance to become exposed to the message of our primitivist eco-warriors. I was handed a copy of *GA #11* and it struck a spark with me. I feel that spark can rage into a bonfire, given further exposure to your message. Being in the hole, I don't have any money at all. I am morbidly indigent. But I would really like a subscription to *Green Anarchy*. I was told that you are sometimes able to give free subscriptions to convicts in control units. May I please sign up for one, Thank you.

I'm back here with every one else and we ain't got shit, 'cept for anti-authoritarian-bent and a fuck the system mentality. I'm only able to come up with one stamped envelope for the cause, but I hope you can use it for something. Sorry it isn't more.

Thank you for your time and attention to this matter. If you could add me to your "Political Prisoners Anarchist Prisoners" column for a pen pal, that would be very much appreciated. The sentences after my address could read like this: "Social prisoner sentenced to death by imprisonment (life w/o parole) and turned prison activist/Anarchist framed for murder and fighting the death penalty."

Thank you. It is appreciated.

In solidarity,  
Jason A. Wilcox  
J-01641 Box 1902-7b110-SHU  
Tehachapi, CA 93581-5902

A.L.F. Defends Veganism

Greetings revolutionary comrades, This is going to be a unorthodox email coming from the animal liberation front. I assume you have received our communiqué from the action in chico, ca. Well on march 10 at 3:00am we targeted a different McDonald's but it wasn't a normal action. It was more symbolic in the sense that we needed to get rid of left over kerosene.

We painted the place and simply lit a fire by the electrical room, not really intending to torch the place because we know you can't burn concrete with fire. Anyways this occurred at about 3:00am Monday morning. We did do some minor smoke damage, which was unexpected but gave us great joy. It would have been great if we did cause great destruction but that wasn't our intent on that particular action. The action on Monday march 3<sup>rd</sup>, we did intend to burn it down with two incendiary devices but they went out.

We have always (this particular cell) had solidarity with you and we still do. Me personally, not speaking for the whole cell, do have a critique on an article that was written on veganism in your last **ga** issue. I feel that the elimination of all animal abuse is integral to help with the collapse of civilization and I don't see veganism as unnatural or impossible in the wild. There have been very successful indigenous groups that were vegan and matriarchial. iKung were vegetarian and considerably large because they focused on the consumption of plant matter rather than meat. Being vegan is also the best thing for the environment considering the dangers from factory farms and animal bi-products. Now I do see your argument about veganism as a moral issue. To me moral issues have always been in reference to god or religion. Since neither have any importance, morality is ridiculous to base one's political ideology on. I also wanted to point out that some of the oppressive, controlling, authoriatirian ideas we see in industrialized, capitalist society also exist in nature. I personally disagree with the survival of the fittest argument. Killing animals so we can survive is one of those survival of the fittest ideas that I disagree with. I've known vegan primitivists that survived quite well in the wild, eating roots, various vegetables and nuts. It is quite easy to do.

My only other question has to do with one's ideology and how they live their lives. Now I am in no way putting down the primitivist idea of life. The only thing that I question about it is the implementation being used in a practical everyday life. You can tell me if I am wrong, but I know very few primitivists that are actually living in the forests everyday. I only mentioned this because the article talked about veganism being too ideological. Well the vegans I know do practice in everyday life what they preach (ie alf). It is unacceptable in my opinion, for any anarchists to really sit there and eat meat, knowing full well that all the meat you buy in stores is an agent of complete oppression, both from an animal rights stand point and anti civ perspective. I hope I have made my point clear and concise. You'll be hearing from us again.

Solidarity  
ALF

One Editor's Note: Not much room to respond, so we'll get into more details in future issues. We can pretty much agree that within industrial civilization, a vegan lifestyle is the least dominating (and probably preferable), yet this does not take into account more complex ecological, health, cultural, and economic matters. However, as far as the actual eating of animals, sorry, but it IS part of nature whether we like it or not. I would rather integrate into a natural process, then once again try to transcend or rise above it.

In Solidarity, GA

Summer '03

# News from the Balcony

(a new column from friends of GA)

with  
Waldorf  
and  
Statler

## We don't need your stinking leaders

It looks like Chris Crass is at it again. Someone please fire his marketing department. His latest essay "**But We Don't Have Leaders - Leadership Development and Anti-Authoritarian Organizing**"

could only get printed in as many locations as its title has words. See if you can collect them all. *Heartattack. Onward Magazine, Infoshop.org,* were only some of the places that have offered Chris a venue for his special brand of anarcho-liberalism. That topsy-turned world where everyone who is oppressed (and can articulate the terms of that oppression along identity lines) holds the keys to the gates of a better world, where "progressive" struggles contained entirely within the context of the New New Left are considered the highest form of anarchistic practice and where bridging the gap between authentic anger and mainstream (albeit good intentioned) political agendas is paramount. This is most telling in Chris's glowing praise of Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez (the author of the dismissive and hallucinatory document "Where was the color in Seattle?"), who in this new essay is referred to as "a mentor and model of respectful leadership". More tragically, Chris seems intent on dragging the anarchist tradition along his statist, semantic-argument-inspired path. This new essay exhumes Malatesta in the service of Mr. Crass's New Age definition of "leadership". After a sketch of Malatesta's political strategy as "beginning with concrete change with the intention of expanding peoples desires and capacity for liberation", Chris scribbles off the page "Leadership development is about expanding that capacity and recognizing that social change doesn't just happen, it is made. It's about the long, slow, patient process of building power with people rather than power over people." Sure, if you say so.

He then goes on to retell the internal struggles of San Francisco *Food not Bombs*, wrapping up that boring story with this zinger: "In rejecting leadership, I was in many ways rejecting responsibility and accountability to others and continuing the tradition of capitalist individualism. In learning to respect the leadership of others and in myself, I have struggled to reclaim trust in and respect for myself, both of which I was taught to achieve only through dominating others." It's one thing for poor Chris to redefine words to suit political expediency, it is yet another to claim that anyone who doesn't agree with him (or excuse me, isn't willing to reject "responsibility" and "accountability") is continuing the tradition of capitalistic individualism (or maybe only he is capable of such a Herculean task). If he is so concerned with not dominating others (and then correspondingly leading them), how exactly can he justify the total transformation of society, whether along anarchist or even race traitor lines? I guess that's the point: he doesn't. **Get off the stage, you bum!**

## The Workerist stands alone

Infoshop.org exists as some sort of virtual feeding pool for anaerobic organisms. Arthur J. Miller is an obvious example with the publication of his new essay "The Intelligentsia and the Class Struggle". Arthur clearly doesn't get out much as evidenced by his need to explicate the intelligentsia

(whomever they are) as the essential reactionary elements in class struggle. This quote is telling, "From time to time, mostly folks from the intelligentsia, ask why class struggle has not yet liberated working people from the exploitation of the class system? There are many historical reasons; one such reason is that we have had a parasite clinging to our backs, the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia

has helped keep the class system in place by suppressing our voice, but also by creating sectarian cults that keep the working class divided." Which clearly informs us that before we can successfully resist capitalist oppression we must eliminate the threat of the intelligentsia. Mao would be proud. (Even though he is one of the few people (none of whom are alive) actually named as a member of this dreaded class.) **Boo! Hiss!**



## Finally the anti-state communists have gone sectarian

We aren't quite old enough to remember exactly why communists split into a thousand different splinters after the Russian experiment, but we're damn near close. What we do remember is that they used to sit in meetings under banners such as Comintern and Third International and were explicitly involved in the downward authoritarian spiral that was the USSR, even if it was only to protest and be expelled during the process. After a long hibernation it appears that they are back. While they remember the good old days (like when they were derided in Lenin's "Left-wing Communism"), it seems like they are mostly living in the shadows of books like *Empire* (Hardt and Negri, Harvard University Press, 2001) and writing grumpy letters to *Anarchy Magazine*. In addition, they have a new journal named *Aporia* (defined as wonder and amazement before the confusing puzzles and paradoxes of our lives and of the universe) that charts new territory for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This is the first wave, of what is guaranteed to be many; sectarian attacks against anarchists along the lines of the question of state. The article in question, titled "*Anarchist Bodies and the Bodies of Anarchism*" by Don Kingsbury begins with an introduction to the Black Bloc (which apparently is useful for the anti-state commie who spends all their time in the library and hasn't caught wind of the new sensation sweeping the country) and ends in the safe Foucaultian space of naming the Black Bloc as "biopolitical in practice or theoretical constitution, yet retain defining linkages to older formulations of power and power relations". Which I guess is an anti-state/post-Foucaultian smack down or something. I recall getting biopolitical just last week, but the doctor gave me a laxative.

Beyond linking the Bloc to the spurious mouthpiece of the "White Overall" movement (with their articulated strategy of reclaiming space in spectacle) the clear agenda of this hit piece goes like this, "the Black Bloc creates the State according to the image it would have it display in an attempt to illuminate a truth". Which hints at the direction that our post-neo-commie friends would take their analysis. If you don't read Marx, Negri, Lukacs, et al. you are more apt to fail in your revolutionary strategy than those of us who have. Valuable words from a theater box even farther removed from the stage of history than anarchists.

**Take them away!**  
**W&S**

p.s. we will be back!





# CASCADIA SUMMER

## CALL TO ACTION

[www.CascadiaSummer.org](http://www.CascadiaSummer.org)

In light of the all out war being currently waged on our public forests and environmental protections by George W. Bush and the timber industry, forest defenders throughout the mountains of Oregon, Northern California, Washington, and Southern British Columbia are organizing a campaign during the upcoming summer of 2003. We are issuing a call to action to all concerned individuals and organizations to request their aid during the upcoming summer months.

In the last year, eco-activists have seen a rapid increase in the level of forest destruction on public lands, the erosion of hard-fought legal protections (As inadequate as they were, they were better than nothing.), and the amount of government repression on groups fighting for social and environmental repression on Bush and his cronies are organizing to continue profiting from injustice and exploiting the Earth. WE ARE ORGANIZING TO PROMOTE SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY.

The Cascadia Summer campaign is made-up of a diverse group of local conservationists fighting to protect forests, streams, and wildlife. We recognize and value strength in diversity of tactics. During Cascadia Summer, activists will be engaging in a wide-range of tactics from civil disobedience, tree-sits, public outreach in urban and rural areas, lawsuits, political pressure, and popular education. Trainings in direct action, non-violence, blockading, legal issues, and much more will be provided.

**WE ARE REQUESTING:**

- YOU!!! Come out and join us this summer for a few days, a week, or three months to protect Native Forests, Old Growth trees, Salmon, Owls, and Rivers.
- HELP!! Help us get the word out. We need local contacts through out North America and the world. Help us do outreach in your community: Make announcements, Distribute flyers, Host a traveling road show and/or a Cascadia Summer speaker, Get in contact with us!
- FUNDS!! Local groups are already strapped. Please donate funds for Cascadia Summer organizing, and/or the Legal Defense Fund. Put on local benefits in own community.

Monthly Direct Action Reports  
from Around the Globe  
Send \$1 to POB 10384,  
Eugene, OR 97440  
[news@mckenzieprinters.org](mailto:news@mckenzieprinters.org)

**October 25<sup>th</sup>**  
**New Orleans Book Fair**

Barrister's Gallery - 1724 Orthea Castle Halley Blvd.  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
[www.nolabookfair.com](http://www.nolabookfair.com)

**Clean yourself (out)!**

The following are just a few wild plants which can help de-toxify your body, as you re-connect with the wild.

**NETTLES - *Urtica dioica***

**Parts Used:** Leaves. (either steeped and drank as tea, or steamed/sauteed/stewed - or both!) Nettles' high level of minerals makes it a great blood-building and blood purifying herb, working as a liver tonic, and in turn, Eczema/psoriasis remedy (along with other liver tonics like burdock and dandelion root). It's used primarily to treat Anemia, due to its extremely high iron content. Another major use is for pollen allergies (in its freeze-dried form only, which Eclectic Institute makes). Nettle is supportive in blood sugar problems, adrenal exhaustion, chronic bronchitis, urinary tract infections and irritation (due to its diuretic effects) and fatigue/weakness, and helps build connective tissue. Folk medicine swears by the stinging effect of nettle as a topical remedy to relieve arthritis and rheumatism, and studies have shown that internally, it reduces uric acid, which triggers such joint pain. German researchers are using nettle root extracts for prostate cancer, and Russian scientists are experimenting with nettle leaf tincture for hepatitis and gall bladder inflammation. Many of the benefits are due to the plant's very high levels of minerals, especially calcium, magnesium, iron, potassium, phosphorous, manganese, silica, iodine, silicon, sodium, and sulfur. They also provide chlorophyll and tannin, and they're a good source of vitamin C, beta-carotene, and B complex vitamins. Nettles also have high levels of easily absorbable amino acids. They're ten percent protein, more than any other vegetable. Eating nettles or drinking the tea makes your hair brighter, thicker and shinier. Nettles' long, fibrous stems were important in Europe for weaving, cloth-making, cordage, and even paper. Native Americans used them for embroidery, fish nets, and other crafts. You can even extract a yellow dye from the roots.

**DANDELION - *Taraxacum officinale***

**Parts Used:** Both the roots and leaves. (but in case you don't know they are both VERY bitter.) In eastern medicine the bitter taste is seen as essential to stimulating the gall bladder and tonifying the liver, thus maintaining proper digestion. The leaves are a natural diuretic (good for water retention/PMS, urinary irritation, etc) and can also be sauteed (with garlic and vinegar as well as apple juice to counteract the bitterness). The roots are an excellent liver tonic and are often roasted and powdered to make a drink similar to coffee (when sweetened). VERY high in iron, Vitamin A, and calcium.

**DOCK - Dock (Yellow, Curly, Red, Sour)**

**Parts Used:** The leaves. Has a lot of the same properties as dandelion in its effect on the liver and digestion. You can eat the leaves the same way, and they too are quite bitter (although less so in the spring). Traditionally eaten as a "potherb" (simmered and eaten along with the cooking water, or "pot liquor") in the spring, along with dandelion and nettles. The heavy dose of green energy is considered to jump start the digestive organs. The root is considered very medicinal as a liver tonic, and is often recommended for skin problems like acne, psoriasis and eczema (which are considered to indicate compromised liver function).

From *The Feral Forager: a guide to living off nature's bounty in urban, rural and wilderness areas.*  
Send \$3 to PO BOX 1485, Asheville, NC 28802  
or email: [wildrootscnc@ziploc.com](mailto:wildrootscnc@ziploc.com)

## Communiqué from the Ruckus

Back in the Spring of 2000, still on the high of the "Battle of Seattle", the "Bring On the Ruckus" Society released its first message to the public at large, "What If You Hung A Banner And Nobody Showed Up?" This poetic rant on the need for an uncontrollable and spontaneous revolt was meant to offer some inspiration to the incendiary re-emergence of the north american anarchist resistance, and suggest a vision which was different then what was previously offered/dictated by the rigid left. We feel that this perspective, thanks to many contributors, has been successfully infused into the current movement of anarchy. Since then, numerous statements and essays have been published in our main propaganda project, DISORDERLY CONDUCT. As an insurrectionary green anarchist publication sworn to "the destruction of civilization and to the reconnection to life!" for almost three years and for six issues (recently numbering over 100-pages), DC has been dedicated to providing an unapologetic approach to insurrection, anarchy, and visions of dead/burning/mutilated cops. But, like any fluid and temporal project whose role is to provide a needed piece to a larger context, our publishing chapter may be coming to a close. The fire has been set, and we need to move on to set new ones, but we will always take a peek back to bask in its glow. This is not to say we may not emerge again when we feel it is time, or that our energy is not still fueling the flames in other ways. We now officially fuse (even though our collaborations have been extensive in the past) our efforts with those who we consider most effective in the propaganda wars, Green Anarchy, in which we have found an effective outlet for our rage. We may be closing this page in history, but you will always feel our presence. The ruckus continues ...

revoltlyng yours,

(Always changing form, but never losing the spark)  
**The "Bring On the Ruckus" Society**

P.S. All back issues are still available from the Green Anarchy distro: Issues #1 and #2 are \$2 each, #3 and #4 are \$3 each, #5 and #6 are \$5 each, and \$18 for the complete set. A compilation of the best of all -six issues, along with some new things, will be available for some yet undetermined price by late 2003. We can still be reached at [ee@efn.org](mailto:ee@efn.org) or PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440.

**a few contacts:**

**Foglight Distro**  
c/o Moss Publications  
(Distributors of surrealist, anarchist and anti-authoritarian zines.)  
P. O. Box 1582  
Portland, ME 04104

**Insubordination**  
(New anti-authoritarian journal. Issue #1 contains articles on "anarchists of color," the "black bloc" and "militants and moderates" Issue #2 will focus on political prisoners and armed struggle.)  
P. O. Box 30770  
Philadelphia, PA 19104  
[insubordination@earthlink.net](mailto:insubordination@earthlink.net)

**A-NEWS**  
(Greek-language anarchist updates)  
PO Box 30557  
Athens 10033 Greece

**Helios**  
(Spanish anti-civ anarchists)  
PO BOX 709  
CP 11402 - Jerez de la Fra.  
Cadiz, Spain

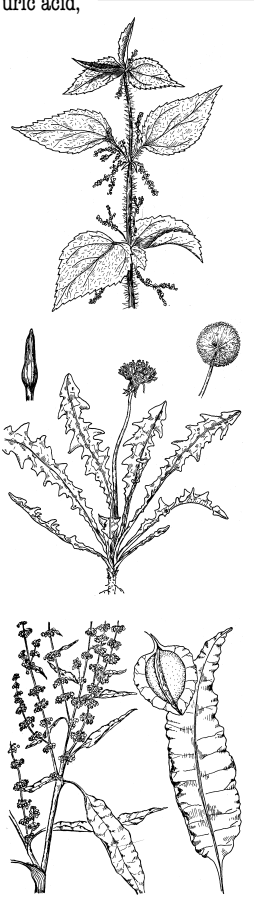
**Terra Selvaggia**  
(anti-civ italian language publication)  
via del Coure no. 1  
56100 Pisa, Italia

## GREEN ANARCHIST

### FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF CIVILIZATION

The original unapologetic  
Green Anarchist paper from the U.K.  
Available for \$3  
BCM 1715, London, WC1N 3XX, UK  
[www.greenanarchist.org/index.html](http://www.greenanarchist.org/index.html)

re-pressed distribution  
c/o crc sholebroke avenue, leeds, ls7 3hb  
[www.re-pressed.org.uk](http://www.re-pressed.org.uk)  
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Black and Green Network  
**GREEN ANARCHIST GATHERING**  
July 10-13, 2003  
North Central Pennsylvania

workshops and discussions on  
anarchist theory and action,  
primitive skills and more.

<http://www.blackandgreen.org/gath.html>  
Black and Green  
PO Box 835  
Greensburg, PA 15601

for the destruction of civilization  
and the reconnection to life

## the eugene scene:

### CASCADIA ALIVE!

Weekly Radical/Anarchist T. V. Program  
On Community Television (CTV)  
Ch 22 (Ch 29 in some areas)  
**LIVE on WED at 10pm**  
\* each week is followed by *Cascadia Flashback!*  
Re-broadcasts:  
THUR - 1am, FRI - 10pm, SAT - 1am  
[www.cascadiaalive.org](http://www.cascadiaalive.org)  
[cascadiaalive@yahoo.com](mailto:cascadiaalive@yahoo.com)

### Anarchy Radio

With John Zerzan  
Sundays at 11pm  
88.1 KWVA Eugene  
Listen online @ [greenanarchy.org](http://greenanarchy.org)

also, look for local flyers:

### subversive pillow theatre

radical video series  
**Sunday nights**  
Usually @ Growers' Market (454 Willamette st.)  
Check flyers for outdoor summer times and locations

### café anarquista

free coffee, tea, literature, conversation  
mornings/early afternoon  
Fri-Sun - Scobert Park (4<sup>th</sup> and Blair)  
Mon-Tue - Monroe Park (Broadway and Monroe)  
Wed-Thur - Maury Jacobs Park (Adams and the river)

### Eugene Copwatch

watching them as they're watching you  
541-343-8548  
1430 Willamette #506, Eugene, Oregon 97401  
[WWW.EUGENECOPWATCH.ORG](http://WWW.EUGENECOPWATCH.ORG)  
[EUGENECOPWATCH@YAHOO.COM](mailto:EUGENECOPWATCH@YAHOO.COM)

Check-out: [Green Anarchy  
greenanarchy.org](http://greenanarchy.org)

The Black and Green Network  
[blackandgreen.org](http://blackandgreen.org)

Asian Revolutionary Movement  
[asianrevolutionarymovement.org](http://asianrevolutionarymovement.org)

### Coalition Against Civilization

*Species Traitor #1-3, Disgust of Daily Life, Weeping Willow, and much more!*  
Get a free copy of the complete CAC Distro, including pamphlets, zines, t-shirts, hoodies, stickers, tote-bags, and patches!  
[www.coalitionagainstcivilization.org](http://www.coalitionagainstcivilization.org)  
[www.speciestraitor.cjb.net](http://www.speciestraitor.cjb.net)  
PO Box 835 Greensburg, PA 15601

The primary purposes are: to bring people into a forest environment to break the mediation between ourselves and our world, and to encourage active participation with it. There will be a heavy emphasis upon primitive skill-share and collective experience.

The gathering will provide a forum for discussing some of the more serious theoretical and practical aspects of the anti-civilization/green anarchist critiques. The gathering will provide a place for people to get a thorough introduction to various strands of anti-civ thought, but will focus on trying to connect face-to-face and deal with issues that are brought up within the critiques and make stronger connections.

We are hoping, above all, to create an environment where people are willing to share, grow, and have a good time. The entire event is centered on active participation and we hope that people will come and bring their knowledge/experience.

We encourage people to get in contact with us or to fill out the registry form so we have a better idea of how many people are coming and what to have. Please check out the website for more information. We hope to see you out there!

# The GREEN ANARCHY DISTRIBUTION CENTER

## How to order:

- Please send well-concealed cash and checks only (do not send loose change).
- Checks can be made out to “Green Anarchy” and mailed to POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440.
- We try to fill orders quickly, but we’re very busy and delays often do occur. Please be patient. Email us at: [collective@greenanarchy.org](mailto:collective@greenanarchy.org) if it’s is taking a long time or if you have any questions about availability. Sometimes orders are delayed if we are waiting on a particular item.
- Put “**Aftn: Mail Order**” on the envelope to help us fill the order faster.
- International orders can take longer because we prefer not to ship airmail, as it is quite expensive.

Thanks, GA

## Pamphlets:

**Abolition Of Work & Primitive Affluence** Bob Black \$2  
A critique of the source of much of the misery in this world: work.

**A Map** Chellis Glendinning \$3  
The contents of a speech delivered by Chellis at the Annual E.F. Schumacher Society Conference.

**Anarchist Survival Guide For Understanding Gestapo Swine Interrogation Mind Games** Harold Thompson \$1  
Fairly self explanatory.

**Animal Liberation Front Primer** \$1  
Everything you need to know about taking illegal direct action to help liberate animals.

**Anti-Mass: Methods Of Organization For Collectives** \$1  
Arguments against mass organization and in favor of more autonomous activism.

**Bring The War Home: vol. 1 Forgotten Heroes; The Black Liberation Army And The Weather Underground** Anarchist Action Collective \$2  
Brief overview of these two armed struggle groups.

**COINTELPRO: The Danger We Face** \$2  
Basic information about the history and nature of the COINTELPRO.

**Colonization Is Always War** Zig Zag \$2  
Modern resistance to the oppressive forces of colonialism.

**Disgust Of Daily Life** Kevin Tucker \$2  
A creative piece furthering the critique of civilization and its totality.

**Earth Liberation Front: Frequently Asked Questions** ELF Press Office \$3  
What is the ELF? Why did they bum down Vail? Can I join?

**Enemy Of The State: An Interview With John Zerzan** by Derrick Jensen \$1  
**Future Primitive** John Zerzan \$2  
Taken from the book by the same name, this essay presents a scathing critique of civilization and technology.

**Grand Juries: Tools Of Political Repression** Craig Rosebraugh \$1  
Analysis of the oppressive nature of grand juries by someone who’s been through them.

**If an Agent Knocks** Anonymous \$2  
Basics you need to know about visits by the feds.

**Industrial Domestication: Industry As The Origins Of Modern Domination** Leopold Roc \$1  
This essay shows why the struggle for workers’ autonomy must be a struggle to destroy industrialism.

**Industrial Society & Its Future: The Unabomber’s Manifesto** Unabomber \$3  
An in depth manifesto against industrialism.

**inTERRORgation: The CIA’s Secret Manual on Coercive Questioning** \$5  
56-page reprint of the CIA’s interrogation manual. Describes methods of physical and mental torture to “induce compliance” from “unwilling subjects.”

**Let’s Get Free!** \$5 (half of the money goes to Free)  
28-page zine about Jeff “Free” Luers, earth defender, anarchist, and political prisoner currently serving almost 23 years for politically-motivated arson charges. Contains writings, poetry, and artwork by Free, as well as other writings about this eco-warrior.

**Listening To The Land: An Interview With Ward Churchill** by Derrick Jensen \$1  
This interview with Ward Churchill was reprinted from one of Derrick’s books, *Listening To The Land: Conversations About Nature, Culture and Eros*.

**Minimanual Of The Urban Guerrilla** Carlos Marighella \$4  
The nature of urban guerrilla warfare articulated by a famous Brazilian communist.

**Native Resistance To Canada** Various native solidarity groups \$2  
Overview of modern Native struggles against colonialism.

**Non-Violence & Its Violent Consequences** William Meyers \$2  
Pacifist absurdity debunked.

**On The Road Again: Direct Action Underground** \$2  
Some basics you need to know about the nature of underground and clandestine resistance.

**Our Enemy, Civilization** \$3  
Essays against civilization, industrialism, and modernity.

**Primitivist Primer** John Moore \$1  
An interesting and very accessible introduction to the movement against civilization.

**Prison Abolition** Yves Borque \$2  
A unique critique of the prison system.

**Rebel’s Dark Laughter: Writings Of Bruno Filippi** Venomous Butterfly Publications \$3  
Selected writings and poetry by this late Italian anarchist insurrectionary.

**Rob The Rich!** Robert Thaxton \$3  
Jailhouse writings of political prisoner Robert Thaxton A.K.A. Rob Los Ricos.

**Society Against The State** Pierre Clastres \$1  
An analysis of the anti-authoritarian nature of many indigenous peoples by this French anarchist anthropologist.

**Some Notes On Insurrectionary Anarchism** Killing King Abacus \$2  
Introduction to the insurrectionary school of anarchist thought.

**Stopping The Industrial Hydra: Revolution Against The Megamachine** George Bradford \$2  
The ecological disasters perpetuated by industrial capitalism are not just isolated incidents that can be prevented through workers’ self-management: they are the inevitable consequences of technological civilization.

**This Is What Democracy Looks Like** VBP \$2  
A great compilation of essays criticizing the anti-globalization movement and the paltry ideal of democracy.

**Towards The Creative Nothing: Selected Writings Of Renzo Novatore** VBP \$2  
A great compilation of rants by this obscure anarcho-individualist revolutionary.

**We All Live In Bhopal** David Watson \$1  
In the technological society, we are all subjected to poisonous chemicals and contaminations.

**We Are Everywhere: Writings By Prisoners In The Northwest** NPPSN \$3  
A compilation of essays, rants, songs, poems, and artwork from a number of politically-conscious prisoners in the Northwest, including Robert Thaxton, Free & Critter, Thomas Tripp and many others. Important 2002 revised edition now available!

**Writings Of The Vancouver Five** \$3  
A great compilation of writings by the members of the ecology-minded anarcho-feminist Canadian urban guerrillas known as the Women’s Fire Brigade and Direct Action. (Soon to be updated and expanded upon by the newly-formed Agitation Press.)

### NEW!

**Quiet Rumours: An Anarcha-Feminist Reader**, the Dark Star Collective \$3  
This new pamphlet is made from about half of a new compilation of some of the most important anarcha-feminist articles of the past century.

## Zines:

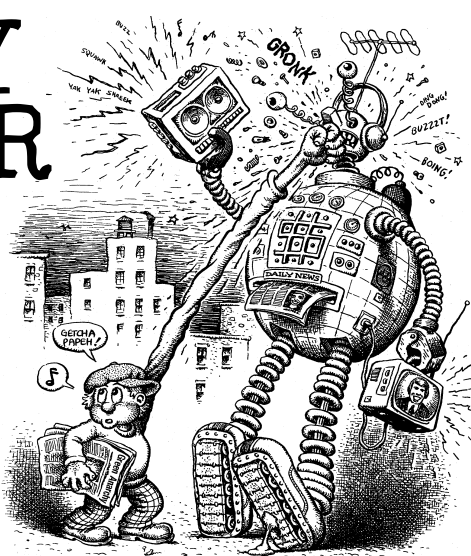
**Black Clad Messenger** All back issues available (#1-30). \$3 each. \$50 for complete set.  
Now defunct journal of anti-industrial anarchism.

**Break The Chains** Current. \$2  
Newsletter with writings by prisoners and news about anti-capitalist resistance and state repression/persecution in the Northwest.

**Disorderly Conduct** Issues #1 and #2 are \$2 each, #3 and #4 are \$3 each, #5 and #6 are \$5 each, and \$18 for the complete set.

An insurrectionary green-anarchist publication, brought to you by the “Bring On The Ruckus” Society. Sorry, it almost never makes it into prisons.

**Note:** Due to the difficulties in reproducing so many different pamphlets and zines, and to save on print-space, we have reduced our distro list. You can still get our full list by sending \$1 or requesting it with other orders.



## Books:

**Against Civilization** Edited by John Zerzan \$15  
A substantial collection of essays and articles against civilization. Including writings by Kirkpatrick Sale, Chellis Glendinning, Barbara Mor, Marshall Sahlins.

**Anarchy After Leftism** Bob Black \$5  
A scathing critique of Murray Bookchin and his particular form of social anarchism.

**Elements Of Refusal** John Zerzan \$15  
Johnny Z’s extensive research attempts to trace the roots of domination. From time, agriculture, language, and so on to the various other forms of social control to domesticate and dominate all life. A very unique and thought-provoking critique of everything.

**Running On Emptiness** John Zerzan \$15  
John’s new book is finally here. Essays include “Time & Its Discontents,” “Whose Unabomber,” “Abstract Expressionism,” John’s memoir “So, How Did You Become An Anarchist” and many other great essays.

## Videos:

**Anarchy In Spain** Rottin’ and Johnny Productions \$10  
An account of two Green Anarchists’ 2001 tour of Spain, including visits to squats, CNT museums, and interviews with contemporary anarchists.

**Breaking the Spell: Anarchy, Eugene and the WTO** Pick Axe Productions \$12  
The most accurate and inspiring documentary of the N30 protests in Seattle.

**Fuck The System And More!** Anonymous \$12  
A 60-minute music-documentary of anarchist uprisings in Eugene and around the world! Includes the controversial “Bush Killa” video! The tape also includes another hour containing sections of “ELF: Green with a Vengeance” and “Takin’ It Down!”.

**U.S. Off The Planet: An Evening With Ward Churchill And Chellis Glendinning** C.M.C. and Pick Axe \$12  
A wonderful documentation of two speeches delivered by Ward and Chellis on June 17th, 2001, for the two year anniversary of the anti-capitalist insurgency in Eugene.

## T-Shirts:



All shirts are black with white ink  
**Medium Only**  
“Smoke Screen” DIY Screen Printing Collective \$12

## GREEN ANARCHY

An Anti-Civilization Quarterly

Featuring : Theoretical and Practical Ideas on the “Destruction of Civilization and the Re-connection to Life”, Analysis of Anarchist and other Resistance Movements, Action Reports, News, Prisoner Updates, and more!

Issue #11 features:

“Science, Civilization’s Ally!” by Ran Prieur, “Patriarchal Conquest and Industrial Civilization” by Brent Taylor, “Beyond Veganism. Beyond the Consumption of Domestication”, “Not My Vision of Liberation: Some thoughts on Organization, Federations, and Platformism” by Leaf S. Alone, “Gravity” by Susan Griffin, an Interview with Vine Deloria by Derrick Jensen, “Repressed But Not Destroyed: Recent Developments in the N17 Saga”, and “An Invitation to Sabotage from Within”

Issue #12 features:

“Kabul Around the Corner”, “Scrolls of Testimony”, “Women of the West Bank”, “Lessons from the Fall of Rome”, an exclusive interview with Reggio Godfrey (film-maker: Koyaanisqatsi, Powaqatsi, and Naqoyqatsi), “Towards an Effective Praxis”, “Does Not Compute” by Austin Train, “Destroy Civilization?”, “Reflections on the End of Work”, “Scavenging Roadkill” from “Feral Forager: a guide to living off nature’s bounty in urban, rural and wilderness areas”, “Collapse” by Kevin Tucker, updates from Insurrections around the world, direct action reports, state repression and prisoner info, reviews, letters, and much, much more! This one is 32-pages (our largest yet!)

## HOW TO SUBSCRIBE :

Here are the rates:

US	5 Issue Subscription	\$15
Canada	5 Issue Subscription	\$18
Europe	5 Issue Subscription	\$22

Other countries- please contact us for prices via e-mail or by post.

Send well concealed cash, postal money orders or checks made out to “Green Anarchy” and mail to POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440.

email us at:

[collective@greenanarchy.org](mailto:collective@greenanarchy.org) with any questions or orders.

## HOW TO DISTRIBUTE :

We are actively seeking distributors of GA both in the US and abroad.  
Here are the prices:

US

1-49 copies - \$1.75per copy  
Over 50 copies - \$1.50 per copy  
You sell it for \$3 per copy and make the extra money for yourself.

International

Sending large quantities of *Green Anarchy* costs a lot of money and takes time. We ask that people pay the same rates as above but add extra money for postage. We will send packages out as cheap as possible (usually surface) unless specifically requested by you to send it air mail.

\* Write or email us for a complete list of pamphlets, zines, videos, and books we have in our Distribution Center

\* Back issues (# 4-12) of *Green Anarchy* are still available for \$3.00 each, or \$25.00 for the complete set.

Please contact us about specific rates or if you are interested in trading zines via e-mail or post if you have any questions.

POB 11331  
Eugene, OR 97440  
[collective@greenanarchy.org](mailto:collective@greenanarchy.org)

\* Check-out the updated [greenanarchy.org](http://greenanarchy.org)

Thanks to every force which helped get this to you.  
We ALWAYS NEED contributions of articles, artwork, poems, feedback, rants, photography, equipment, and MONEY!

Please email any contributions to [collective@greenanarchy.org](mailto:collective@greenanarchy.org), on a Mac compatible disc, or by mail to PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440.

Please label all contributions (letter, article, poem, graphic, etc).

We have gotten lots of feedback since our last issue to keep the name and the newspaper format, so for now you are stuck with us the way we are.



This is our largest issue yet (36-pages), and our largest print-run (5,500 copies). Despite depleting our resources in an attempt to have an extensive Summer issue, we do hope to continue on at this level, so please consider becoming a subscriber, throwing us a benefit in your town, or sending us a donation.

We need your help more then ever!

Thanks to all those who have contributed in the past.

Our next deadline is August 12<sup>th</sup> (full moon)

Please re-print, translate, and/or pass it on.